00094560

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 20 February, 2020

EPOCHS OF CIVILIZATION

BY

PRAMATHA NATH BOSE, B.Sc. (LOND.)

Author of a "History of Hindu Civilization under British Rule," "Essays and Lectures" &c.

94560

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

MM.c.59

Calcutta:
W. NEWMAN & CO.,
1913.

PRINTED BY U. N. BHATTACHARYYA
HARE PRESS:
46, BECHU CHATTERJEE STREET, CALCUTTA.

PREFACE.

——:++:——

THERE is no subject which concerns civilized man more vitally than civilization, and yet, there is none about which his ignorance is more profound, and his talk more vague and incoherent. In this age of amazing intellectual ferment every science has been marching apace except sociology, especially that branch of it which deals with civilized man. It is much in the same state now as it was in the time of Comte, who may be said to have created it. We have as yet no common standard of civilization. In this respect, we have not advanced much further than the ancients who lumped together all foreigners as barbarians. The educated Western world of the present day "practically settles a standard by simply placing its own nations at one end of the social series, and savage tribes at the other, arranging the rest of mankind between these limits as they correspond more closely to savage or to

cultured life (of the West)."* But the arbitrary character of such a standard puzzles the Oriental. A Japanese diplomatist is reported to have said addressing a European audience :

"For two thousand years we kept peace with the rest of the world, and were known to it by the marvels of our delicate ethereal art, and the finely wrought productions of our ingenious handicrafts, and we were accounted barbarians. But from the day on which we made war on other nations and killed many thousands of our adversaries, you at once admit our claim to rank among civilized nations."

The capricious standard set up by the "educated Western world" does not meet with universal acceptance even in the West. The position that Western civilization is the most perfect the world has yet seen is assailed even there. The chorus in laudation of its numberless inventive feats, and industrial miracles, even those which, like the military aeroplanes, are intended for the practice of barbarity, and of its supposed beneficent work among the benighted peoples of Africa and the East is, now and then, rudely broken by the discordant outbursts of a dissentient minority. "Even the best of modern civilizations," says Huxley, "appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the

* E. B. Tylor, "Primitive Culture," Vol. I, p. 26.

opinion that if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family ; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater dominion over nature which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon that dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of want with its concomitant physical and moral degradation amongst the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some kindly comet which would sweep the whole affair away as a desirable consummation."*

Dr. A. R. Wallace finds, that the result of the European mission in Africa so far "has been the sale of vast quantities of rum and gunpowder, much bloodshed owing to the objection of the natives to the seizure of their lands and cattle ; great demoralisation of black and white, and the condemnation of the conquered tribes to a modified form of slavery."†

* "Government: Anarchy or Regimentation." *Collected Essays*, Vol. I.

† "The Wonderful Century," p. 372. Marie Corelli, in a recent issue of "Nash's Magazine," says :—

"Civilization is a great word. It reads well—it is used everywhere—it bears itself proudly in the language. It is a big mouthful of arrogance and self-sufficiency. The very sound of it flatters our vanity and testifies to the good opinion we have of ourselves. We boast of "Civilization" as if we were really civilized, just as we talk of "Christianity" as if we were really Christians. Yet it is all the veriest game of make-believe, for we are mere savages still : savages in "the lust of the eye and pride of

There are, of course, reasons for this backward state of the science of civilized society. The difficulties which attend its pursuit are very serious. The complex and multitudinous data of civilization are distributed over an immense area, and extend through a long vista of ages down to the misty dawn of human history, seven or eight thousand years ago. They have to be laboriously gleaned from records which are, generally, as remarkable for paucity of information in regard to the cultural development of the people, as they are for exuberance of details concerning the marauding expeditions and sanguinary exploits of semi-savage warriors and the nefarious intrigues of scheming politicians. But, perhaps, the most formidable obstacle in the way of a science of civilization is the difficulty of focussing the mind right for the visualisation of its phenomena. So strong and so subtle, indeed, is the influence of ideas, sentiments, beliefs, prejudices and institutions to which one is born, and among which one is bred, that they produce an unconscious bias from which it is not easy to escape. The mental horizon of European thinkers does not, as a rule, extend much beyond Europe, just as the mental horizon of Asiatic observers does not extend much beyond Asia ; and when it does, the objects beyond generally appear to them as grotesque, insignificant, distorted, incomprehensible, or absurd. Such a

life"—savages in our national prejudices and animosities, our jealousies, our greed and malice, and savages in our relentless efforts to overreach or pull down each other in social and business relations."

partial and imperfect view of the facts of civilized life must vitiate sociological interpretations and inferences.

There are some cultured Asiatics, especially among the "Celestials," who look upon civilized Europeans as not much better than barbarians. On the other hand, one sometimes meets with passages like the following in the works of eminent Western authors :—

"The ancients had no conception of progress ; they did not so much as reject the idea ; they did not even entertain the idea. Oriental nations are just the same now. Since history began they have always been what they are.....Only a few nations, and those of European origin advance ; and yet these think—seem irresistibly compelled to think—such advance to be inevitable, natural, and eternal."*

Even a philosophic and erudite scientist like the late Professor Huxley, viewed the attempts of the ancient sages to attain tranquillity and salvation which ended in "flight from the battle-field" as the "youthful discouragement of nonage."† He would have the Europeans of the present age, as "grown men," "play the man,"

"Strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

The statement that the Occidental of the present day is "grown man" as compared to civilized man two

* Walter Bagehot, "Physics and Politics," pp. 41-42.

† "Evolution and Ethics and other Essays," p. 86.

thousand years ago is disputed even in the West. Henry George, for instance, observes :—"We of modern civilization are raised far above those who have preceded us and those of the less advanced races who are our contemporaries. But it is because we stand on a pyramid, not that we are taller. What the centuries have done for us is not to increase our stature, but to build up a structure on which we may plant our feet."* "By a general glance over the early history of civilized man," says Dr. A. R. Wallace, "I have shown that there is little if any evidence of advance in character or in intellect from the earliest times of which we have any records."†

A civilized Oriental may not unreasonably ask : Is the modern Occidental any better than his ancestors of antiquity ? Is the intellectual calibre of a Kant, Cuvier, or Darwin superior to that of a Kapila, Confucius or Kanáda ? and in respect of ethical or spiritual development, does the present age compare at all favourably with the age that produced a Laoutsze, Buddha, Zoroaster, and Christ ? It may be urged, by an observer whose vision is not bedimmed by the glamour of Western civilization, that if the ancient sages counselled retirement from the strife and stress of material advancement, so far as practicable, to those, who were particularly desirous of spiritual progress, especially

* "Progress and Poverty," p. 356.

† "The World of Life," p. 396.

at an advanced stage of life, it was because the greater and more arduous battle of such progress might be fought more energetically and more efficiently, because they held with Buddha—

"One may conquer a thousand thousand men in battle,
"But he who conquers himself is the greatest victor."

The Western nations are "playing the man," "to strive, to seek, to find." But the question naturally obtrudes itself, to find what? A spectator from the Oriental view-point, may well ask: Of what avail is the victory of the Western "grown man," which is achieved not by love, mercy and self-sacrifice, but the path to which lies over the misery of countless fellow-creatures in all quarters of the globe, and which does not secure the tranquillity and beatitude begotten of righteousness and concord, but brings in Sisyphean misery and disquiet engendered by unsatisfied desire, insatiable greed and perpetual discord?

But the objective as well as the subjective difficulties which have hitherto retarded the progress of the science of civilized society are being gradually diminished. The patient and persevering explorations and researches of archæologists and philologists are bridging the gulf between the Past and the Present, and placing within the easy reach of the student of sociology the varied phenomena of the civilizations of antiquity. The close

contact of the Western and Eastern civilizations is, at the same time, tending to develop and foster a calm, unbiassed, cosmopolitan attitude of mind which is essential for their scientific investigation. This work is intended as a step, though a very small one, towards such an investigation. It is published with considerable diffidence and hesitation, as on many points, the information which I have been able to collect in this retreat, without any library to speak of, is incomplete and unsatisfactory. In fact, the immensity of the task I have undertaken, makes me exclaim with the Indian poet : "A dwarf deluded do I stretch out my arms for a fruit attainable only by a giant."

My greatful acknowledgments are due to Mr. L. Tipping, M.A. and to Mr. S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L. for helping me to see the book through the press.

RANCHI (INDIA)
June, 1913.

P. N. BOSE.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

Preface iii

CHAPTER I.

Stages and Epochs of Civilization 1

CHAPTER II.

The Factors of Civilization 25

CHAPTER III.

Survival of Civilization 53

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST EPOCH.

Section 1.—Egypt 89

Section 2.—Babylonia 105

CHAPTER V.

The Second Epoch.

Section 1.—India

A. The First Stage 113
B. The Second Stage 135
C. The Third Stage 166

Section 2.—Greece

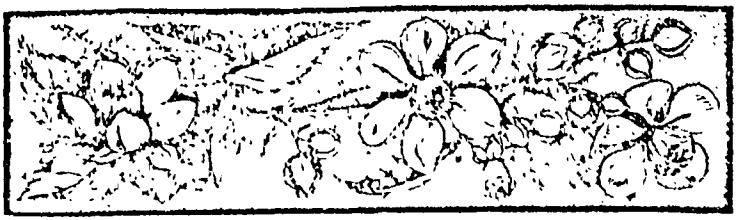
A. The First Stage 212
B. The Second Stage 217
C. The Third Stage 232

CHAPTER VI.

The Third Epoch.

Western Civilization.

A. The First Stage 257
B. The Second Stage 274
C. Ethical Development 283
D. The Outlook 300
Appendix—Synoptical Table of Epochs and Stages. . . 329
Index 333



CHAPTER I.

STAGES AND EPOCHS OF CIVILIZATION.

Relation of man to animals.

Physically man is closely related to the Animal Kingdom. The elements of the human organism are exactly like those of the animal. Muscle for muscle, artery for artery, bone for bone, the body of man is built on the same plan as that of the higher apes. In fact, from an anatomical point of view, he is more nearly related to the higher order of apes than these are to the lower. On his emotional side also he strongly resembles some of the higher animals. He is affectionate or spiteful, is jealous, cowardly or courageous much as some animals are.

There are some important points, however, in which man differs from animals :—

First :—Naturalists are now agreed that man and animals reason and think in virtue of a faculty which

is common to both. But from the earliest times of which we have any definite information, the intellect is found incomparably more developed in man than in animals. In intellectual capacity there is a wide gulf between them, and no transitional forms have as yet been found to bridge it. So far as cranial capacity is an index of intellectual power, the palæolithic man was not only very far ahead of the highest brutes, but would appear to have had as large a share of it as his descendants at the present day, whether savage or civilized. *

Secondly :—There are two characteristics which, in the opinion of anthropologists like A. de Quatrefages, differentiate man altogether from animals, and are not met with in the latter even in rudimentary forms—(1) the spiritual faculty which inspires him with a belief in supernatural beings and in a future state ; and (2) the moral faculty which enables him to perceive moral good and evil independently of any consideration of utility, of physical welfare or suffering. We have evidence of the existence of these two faculties in primeval man

* The cranial capacity of the skull from La Chapelle-aux-Saintes is 1600. c. c., and that of the Neanderthall skull is about 1700 c.c. The capacity of the Cro-Magnon skulls varies from 1590 to 1715 cubic centimeters. The mean cranial capacity of modern Parisians as given by Topinard is 1558, of the Chinese 1518, of the Negroes of West Africa 1430, and of the Tasmanians 1452. Prof. Sollas observes, in his anniversary address to the Geological Society in 1910 : "They [the skulls] indicate that the primitive inhabitants of France were distinguished from the highest civilised races not by a smaller, but by a larger cranial capacity."

and in savages of the present day who are but little distinguished from him. Some of the palæolithic skeletons found in France had been buried with the weapons of the deceased, and, in one case at least, with the leg of a bison in addition, evidently to provide food for the departed spirit. The neolithic man used to raise megalithic monuments over the graves of the dead, and, as accompanying gifts, used to put in them various kinds of arms, vases, and ornaments.

Not a single savage tribe has as yet been found in any part of the globe who can be said to be devoid of religion. Indeed, the religious ideas of some of the savages are so elevated as to bear comparison with those of peoples at a much higher stage of culture. The Tahitians had a clear conception of a Supreme God, whom they regarded as a pure Spirit, above a number of minor divinities. One of their songs begins thus : "He was : Taaroa was his name ; he existed in space ; no earth, no heaven, no men". Another begins with the declaration : "Taaroa, the great orderer, is the origin of the earth. Taaroa is toivi ; he has no father, no posterity." The religious beliefs of the Algonquin and Mingwe Red-skins are also of a superior order.* The Proto-Aryans (ancestors of the Aryans) while still in a condition similar to that of some of the savage tribes of the present day worshipped the "Dyaus Pitar," (Zeus, Jupiter) the 'Sky-Father' as their chief God. The Rigveda, the oldest work extant of the

* A. de Quatrefages, "The Human Species" (Lond. 1881) p. 493.

Aryan race, speaks of Dyaus as the first God of whom the other gods are the sons.

That the savage is not wanting in moral sense is now admitted by all well-informed anthropologists. Even the most inferior races are now credited with the idea of property, of respect for human life, and of self-respect. There is not a single savage tribe known who does not regard theft and murder as wrong and who has not some sense of honour. The languages of some of the civilized nations testify that their ancestors, while still in a savage state, had some idea of property and of justice and uprightness. In the Chinese language, for instance, the character which signifies "uprightness" is composed of two parts, "my" and "sheep"; the character *cho* "right" is made up of two parts, "one's own" and "sheep"; and the word *tseang* which means "to examine and judge clearly" is formed of two words, *yen* "to talk of" and *yang* "sheep". From these words it would appear that the Chinese had ideas of property, uprightness and justice while they were still in a pastoral condition.

Man thus presents three states:

First:—The *animal* state in which he is physically and emotionally indistinguishable from animals.

Second:—The *intermediate* state in which the intensity of his intellectual development separates him from animals.

Third:—The distinctly *human* state in which his spiritual and moral faculties isolate him from animals;

and, in the opinion of some Naturalists, the isolation is so complete that it entitles him to form a distinct kingdom, called the Human Kingdom.

No forms linking the Human and Animal Kingdoms have been discovered as yet. If they ever be, they will in all probability be found endowed with cranial capacity intermediate between that of man and the highest brute, and with rudiments of the moral and spiritual faculties less open to question than those with which Darwin in his *Descent of Man** credits some animals. Just as the development of the human fœtus is a recapitulation of the different stages in the evolution of man from lower to higher vertebrate form, so the unfolding of his life probably exemplifies the different stages in his subsequent growth. His animal propensities and emotional faculties have their fullest play in boyhood and adolescence, when his mind is not "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." The unfolding of his intellectual life takes place in manhood, and that of his moral and spiritual life in old age.

Stages of human progress.

These are also the successive stages† through which a savage community passes for the attainment of complete development. It would be as unreasonable to expect the ethical and spiritual development of a mature civilization in a young and vigorous one, as it would be to expect the wisdom

* *Op cit* Chap. IV.

† Examples of the several stages will be given in Chapters IV, V and VI.

and otherwordliness of an aged individual in a spirited, pleasure-seeking young man.

The first stage.

In the first stage of civilization the social organism is still chiefly occupied with its animal existence and is, therefore, strongly characterised by the predatory spirit. Matter dominates the spirit at this stage, and civilization is essentially material. Industries which minister to the comforts, conveniences and luxuries of life are gradually developed. Culture, at this stage, being related to the gratification of the senses, and the animal necessities of life, or to the expression of the emotions, takes the form of the Fine Arts,—poetry, music, sculpture, painting and architecture ; and the first stage of civilization may, on this account, be called the stage of the Fine Arts. As might be expected, however, these arts remain throughout this stage more or less realistic. Philosophy is altogether absent ; and the only sciences which make any progress are astronomy and mechanics. The former is studied chiefly for the influence which the heavenly bodies are supposed to have on our mundane existence, and the latter for its intimate connection with the development of the arts and industries. Religion is almost entirely objective, being chiefly confined to the worship of the powers of nature and of heroes distinguished for military prowess. There may be much of it, but, nevertheless, there is little of spiritual development. Belief in magic, sorcery and witchcraft is widely prevalent.

Not much ethical development could be expected in a community which is immersed in ignorance, in which brute force is held in the highest esteem, and in which the average man has no conception of any pleasures except those of the senses.

The second stage.

The second or intermediate stage may be called that of intellectual development. Matter now ceases to dominate the spirit. The sovereignty of Reason is now established, and the empire of law is gradually extended. Man is no longer absorbed by the struggle for mere animal existence. His outlook on life is widened. He investigates physical as well as psychical phenomena and attempts to elucidate the laws by which they are governed. Thus spring up Science and Philosophy. The industrial advancement effected during the first stage remains, and may even be furthered. But the intellect instead of being absorbed by it, pursues objects which have no reference whatever to present utility and the animal requirements of man. Art passes from the imitative and the naturaliastic stage to what has been called the "Classic" stage, in which "beauty is sought as the union of spirit and matter." The Muses instead of celebrating the sanguinary exploits and erotic adventures of semi-savage heroes and gods, begin to produce dramas, epics, and lyrics more in consonance with the cultured intellect and improved morals of the age. Militarism and the predatory spirit are on the wane. As the stage advances, wisdom and knowledge

begin to occupy a higher place than brute strength in the estimation of the community There is greater humanity and greater self-restraint than in the preceding stage. The rationalistic spirit of the age does not harmonise with the anthropocentric idea of divinity prevalent during the first stage. The cultured classes lean towards scepticism, agnosticism or monotheism in some form or other. Their views tend to leaven the more ignorant classes, and belief in magic, sorcery and witchcraft ceases to exert any very great influence upon them, if it does not die out altogether.

The third stage.

During the third stage far more attention is paid to the spiritual than to the animal, to the inner than to the outer life of man. Happiness is sought for from within, rather than from without, by self-denial rather than by self-indulgence. Arts and industries which promote bodily comforts and luxuries have hardly any share of the attention of the thoughtful. Painting and sculpture are idealised. Religion becomes altogether subjective among the enlightened, and partly so among the ignorant. Suppression of egoism and cultivation of altruism tend to become the rule of life with the former. Such virtues as self-sacrifice and benevolence become more widely diffused than ever before. The decadent militarism of the second stage becomes altogether extinct among those who have made the greatest progress in the path of spiritual advancement. There is a tendency towards the establishment of equilibrium between the various

forces of progress, material, intellectual and ethical; and society is characterised more by harmony than by mobility.

Epochs of civilization.

The three stages we have mentioned above constitute an Epoch of human progress. The history of that progress may be conveniently divided into three epochs. The first epoch began about the sixth millenium B. C. and ended about 2000 B. C. It comprises the history of the earlier civilizations of Egypt, Babylonia and China. The second epoch (about 2000 B. C.—700 A.D.) comprises the later civilizations of Egypt and China and the civilizations of India, Greece, Rome, Assyria, Phœnicia and Persia. We are living in the third epoch which commenced about 700 A.D. The most important fact of this epoch is the rise and progress of the modern civilization of Europe, or Western civilization as it has been called. Each of these epochs was ushered in by important racial and political movements. The first epoch was inaugurated by the subjugation of the indigenous peoples of Egypt, Chaldea and China by intrusive immigrants. It was mainly the period of Semitic ascendancy. The influence of the Semites or mixed Semites prevailed all over the civilized world of the first epoch (except China). During the earlier centuries of the second epoch Babylonian was still the language of intercourse among the civilized peoples of the time with the single exception of the Chinese. A new race, the Aryan, now comes

into view, destined to carry civilization to a much higher degree of development than ever before. The site of the original home of the Aryans is still a subject of dispute among philologists and archæologists. There are some reasons to conclude that a section of that race was settled in Bactria and Eastern Iran about the time of Khamurabi of Babylonia (circ. 2300 B.C.). A branch of the Aryan race migrated into India about 2000 B.C. and gradually established its supremacy over the aboriginal tribes there.* Another branch, the Mitanis, rose into importance in Asia Minor about the 15th Century B.C.† A third group, the Hellenes, migrated to Greece and there displaced the Pelasgians ; and a fourth, the Romans, overcame the more civilized Etruscans. Egypt was invaded by a horde of barbarians, the Hyksos, who overthrew the native dynasty, and founded one of their own (about 2000 B.C.). The ancient Babylonian empire, which had attained its acme of prosperity under Khamurabi and his successors, was conquered by barbarous tribes, the Kassites from the mountains of Elam (about 1800 B.C.). It was gradually dismembered, and out of its ruins rose

This is the generally accepted date of the Indo-Aryan immigration. Prof. Jacobi and some other scholars would carry it much further back, 4000 B.C. or even earlier.

† In an inscription found at Boghazki oi in Asia Minor the date of which is about 1400 B. C., the Vedic Gods, Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the Násatyas are invoked. Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, October 1909, p. 846, and July 1910, p. 1096.

a new empire, that of Assyria. The only civilized country where political revolution was consummated with the least disturbance was China, where a new native dynasty called the Shan took the place of the one founded by Yaou (about 1765 B. C.). The third epoch of human progress was initiated by the invasion of the Roman Empire by the Germanic tribes in the fifth and the sixth centuries A.D., the incursion of the Arabs into Africa, Syria, Persia, and India in the seventh and the eighth, the subjugation of the savage tribes of Mexico by the Toltecs about the middle of the sixth century and the establishment of the supremacy of the Yncas in Peru in the 9th or 10th.*

Difficulty of interpreting sociological phenomena increased during second and third epochs.

It is always perplexingly difficult to unravel the complex skein of sociological phenomena. But the perplexity is considerably enhanced during the second and the third epochs by the fact, that each of them started with a good number of the products of the progress of the previous epoch or epochs. The difficulty would obviously be greatest in the third epoch. Though the civilizations of the preceding epochs had become extinct or been reduced to a stationary state, the results attained by them were preserved to no inconsiderable extent.

* In regard to the pre-Toltec and pre-Ynca civilizations of America the data as yet available are very uncertain. They probably belong to the second epoch. The Yncas and the Toltecs and their successors, the Texcucans and the Aztecs, made considerable progress in the first stage which was nearly coeval with the first stage of the modern civilization of Europe.

Though the trees had died or ceased to bear any fruit, a good many of their fruits remained with seed ready to germinate in congenial soil. There is thus caused an embarrassing intermixture of indigenous and exotic, of low and high forms in varying degrees of intricacy, which it is often exceedingly difficult to discriminate and distinguish. The Arabs, while still in the militant and material stage, are forcibly converted to a religion which is not of native growth, but which is originated by a highly gifted man of transcendent capacity, under the influence of another religion of foreign origin which itself was, in all probability, influenced by a third evolved in a distant country, the noblest spiritual and ethical product of the last stage of the second epoch of human progress. We have thus the incongruous conjunction of an advanced religion and a social state exhibiting but little of intellectual or spiritual advancement. Again, the Arabs coming into contact with the products of the old civilizations, soon imbibed their spirit to a certain extent and developed a taste for intellectual pursuits, just as the Negroes under the influence of Western civilization may develop a similar taste at the present day. But neither the one nor the other, as a community, could, on that account, be said to have progressed in the intellectual stage. Within a century of the death of the prophet, not a few of the bigoted, illiterate, and fanatic Saracens, were transformed into votaries of literature, science and philosophy. They translated a

large number of the Sanskrit and Greek works on philosophy, mathematics and medicine. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Abasside dynasty in Bagdad, the Fatimite in Egypt, and the Ommaide in Spain vied with each other in promoting science and letters ; and Bagdad, Cairo and Andalusia became the centres of the civilzation of the time. But the Mahomedans as a body were still in the first stage though they appeared to have advanced into the second. Their culture was mainly confined to the fine arts. They originated but little except in poetry and architecture. In philosophy and science, they were mainly transmitters. They gathered many of the valuable results of the civilizations of Greece and India and transmitted them to posterity.

The Mongolians, while still in the lowest stage, were converted to Buddhism, but could not on that account be said to have been translated to the stage of civilization of which that religion is one of the noblest products. The "Barbarians" of Europe accepted Christianity, one of the grandest results of the last stage of oriental culture in the second epoch, but as might be expected, they could not assimilate it. It remained a thing apart from their lives, and notwithstanding its nominal adoption, they long continued to remain in the first stage. Christian altruism was not compatible with the stage of progress which they had attained at the time of its adoption. The doctrine of relentless, eternal punishment by fire, the fiendish delight which theologians like Tertullian, took in

contemplating the hideous scenes of endless torture in hell, and the systematic, deliberate barbarity with which the Christian Church persecuted the Jews and other heretics, harmonised with the nature of nations whose favourite pastimes, even amongst refined classes, were bull-baiting and bear-baiting.

Analogy between epochs & stages of civilization, and geological epochs and stages.

There is some analogy between epochs of civilization and geological epochs, which are invariably ushered in by important terrestrial and biological changes. The analogy becomes closer when we compare the stages in the history of the development of man with those in the evolution of the flora and fauna peopling the earth. Just as the strata containing fauna of a particular facies in one part of the globe are correlated to those containing fauna of the same facies in another, so the deposits in which the remains of palæolithic men are entombed, or, in later times, the monuments and records which reveal similar culture whether, artistic, intellectual, or ethical, may be referred to the same age, provided they are not transported, and provided the caution presently to be mentioned be exercised in such reference. Thus the megalithic monuments (dolmens, cromlechs &c.) which consist of huge blocks of stone, little or not at all hewn, set up in the form of a hut with a flat roof, whether in Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Syria, Northern Africa or India, are of the same type and referable to the same age (the neolithic).

During the first epoch, Babylonian culture presents numerous striking points of coincidence with the Egyptian and the Chinese. The proximity of Egypt to Babylonia renders an explanation of these coincidences on the hypothesis of the transplantation of the ideas and institutions of one country to another possible. But the remoteness of China from Babylonia, and the physical barriers intervening between the two countries, which must have been so difficult to surmount in the first epoch as to be almost insuperable, hardly justifies such an explanation of the coincidences* between Chinese and Babylonian culture in the same epoch.

As we shall see in some detail hereafter, Greek thought, during the second stage of the second epoch,

* The very dawn of history finds the Chinese and the Chaldæans in possession of similar astronomical knowledge. There is agreement even in its anomalies. "In one of the earliest chapters of the *Shoo King* [the Chinese Book of History]" says Prof. R. K. Douglas "astronomical indications are given which imply the shifting of the cardinal points towards the west. That is to say, the orientation described represents the north as being in reality the north-west and the south the south-east, and so on. The only explanations of this displacement which, until lately have been offered have cast reflections on the astronomical knowledge of the intelligent and accomplished Emperor Yaou (2356 B.C.). But as Dr. De Lacouperie has pointed out, the cuneiform tablets have revealed the fact, that precisely the same shifting of the points of the compass existed among the Akkadians. It is remarkable also to find, in confirmation of this discovery, that according to the same scholar, all the Chaldæan monuments, with the exception of the temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon, are oriented with the same inclination towards the west." (Confucianism pp. 9-10).

presents many points of contact with Indian thought of the same stage ; and intercourse between the two countries at the time was not sufficiently close to account for such coincidences. There are many striking points in which the culture of India during the third stage of the second epoch resembles that of China during the same epoch. In fact the system of Laoutsze, the greatest philosopher China has produced, corresponds so closely to Vedantism that he is supposed by some to have drawn inspiration from India.* He rose up to the Indian level of moral elevation and preached the sublime doctrine : "Recompense evil with good." "As for me" said he "I have three precious things which I hold fast and prize ; namely, compassion, economy, and humility." "Judge not your fellow-man. Be content to know yourself.....A truly good man loves all men and rejects none."

* "We know so little of Laoutsze's history," says Dr. Douglas "that it is impossible to say whether or no he drew his inspiration directly from India. It is possible that he did, But whether this is so or not, the resemblance between the leading characteristics of Hindoo mysticism and those of Taouism are sufficiently striking. When we are told that Hindoo mysticism 'lays claim to disinterested love as opposed to a mercenary religion ; that it reacts against the ceremonial prescriptions and pedantic literature of the Vedas ; that it identifies, in its Pantheism, subject and object, worshipper and worshipped ; that it aims at ultimate absorption into the infinite ; that it inculcates, as the way to this dissolution, absolute passivity, withdrawal into the inmost self, and cessation of all the powers ; that it believes that eternity may thus be realised in time, that it has its mythical miraculous pretensions ; *i.e.* its theurgic department' (Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystic*) we see reflected as in a glass the various stages through which

Some caution is necessary in reasoning upon the analogy between cultural and geological epochs and in correlating the different stages of culture. It may be transported from one age to another as Greek and Hindu culture of the second epoch was by the Saracens in the third. Again, the culture of one age in a country may survive there in a subsequent age in a more or less stationary condition. Palæolithic culture survived, even into the present epoch, in various parts of the globe. Deposits in which palæolithic implements are met with in these places could not obviously be correlated to the deposits of the palæolithic period, In fact, one can never be sure of the supersession of a certain stage of culture in a particular locality by a higher one unless there is clear evidence of the latter.

Contemporaneity of the stages and epochs of civilization.

As the flora and fauna referable to a particular geological age in one part of the globe are never exactly contemporaneous with the flora and fauna referable to the same age in another, so in the

Taouism has passed from the time it was first conceived in the mind of Laoutsze down to its latest superstitious development." ("Confucianism and Taouism" pp. 218—219).

The date of Laoutsze's birth is generally given to be B.C. 604, so he was much older than Buddha, and could not have been influenced by his teachings even if we suppose that the intercourse between China and India was close enough at the time to make such influence possible.

same way the products of civilization belonging to a particular stage in a particular epoch in one locality are not exactly synchronous with the products of the civilization of the same stage in the same epoch in another. Thus, for instance, the second or intellectual stage of the second epoch of civilization was initiated in Greece in the seventh century B.C. by Thales of Miletus, the father of the Ionic school. But in India, there are reasons for believing that it began two or three centuries earlier. The third or the ethical stage of the same epoch began in India with Gautama Buddha, in China with Laoutsze and Confucius, in Persia with the propagation of Zoroastrianism during the reign of Darius, and in Palestine with reformed Judaism in the sixth century B.C. But in Greece, it commenced with Socrates nearly a century later. The duration and intensity of the ethical upheaval varied in different countries. It lasted longest and produced the most striking results in India.

Distribution of civilized man in space and in time.

The distribution of civilized man is subject to the same law as that which governs the distribution of all organisms—namely, the higher the organisation the more restricted is the habitat. The palæolithic man was distributed all over the globe. The neolithic man, with his knowledge of agriculture and the breeding of domestic animals, his improved tools and his settled life, was a long way in advance of the palæolithic, who had to depend on hunting and fishing

for his living ; and his distribution has been found to be far more limited than that of his palæolithic forebear. The range of civilized man is still more restricted. The civilization of antiquity was confined within a few degrees of latitude in the northern hemisphere, and there too to three races only, the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Mongolian. Among them again there were some who did not rise much above the first or the second stage. The Assyrians, for instance, had made considerable material progress in the second epoch. They were as skilled in handicrafts as in agriculture. Cloths of brilliant colours, exquisitely finished carpets, profusely embroidered garments, rich and handsomely decorated furniture, gilded and carved work in ivory, glass and various kinds of enamel, metal work, saddlery and chariots are some of the manufactures in which the Assyrians attained a high degree of excellence. Most of the useful arts were cultivated to the highest pitch, and in dress, furniture, jewellery &c., they were not much behind the moderns. But, with all this splendid material development, there is but little indication of intellectual or ethical progress. In their inscriptions the Assyrian kings boast unceasingly of their cruelties, as though they were exploits worthy of renown. "I passed" says one conqueror, "two hundred and sixty fighting men under my arms ; I cut off their heads and built pyramids of them." "I killed one out of every two" says another ; "I built a wall before the great gate of the town. I flayed the chiefs of the

rebellion, and I covered this wall with their skins. Some were immured alive in the masonry, others were crucified or impaled along the wall." The history of Assyria is a monotonous record of the plundering expeditions of her kings carried on with the most savage cruelty.

Dates of stages and epochs approximate.

Sociological data are generally so very complicated, the records wherein they are preserved are so very imperfect, and the interpretation of these records is beset with so many difficulties, that it is, as a rule, extremely difficult to judge when a social aggregate has advanced from one stage of civilization to another. Even in a society which is immersed in barbarism, or has, at best made some progress in the first stage, there may arise exceptionally endowed individuals, intellectual or moral geniuses, who, being far in advance of their age, fail to make any impression upon the community in which they live. There were here and there gifted artists in the palæolithic period who turned out artistic work, which would not suffer by comparison with similar work of the present day. But it is so rare, that the community in which they lived cannot well be said to have advanced to the first stage of civilization of which Fine Arts is the most important cultural development. Among the Indo-Aryans of the Rigvedic period, while they were still in the lowest stage, there were several seers who to some extent anticipated the intellectual and ethical movements of subsequent stages. But the

Indo-Aryan community could not on that account be reasonably considered to have been lifted up to either of those stages.

These are comparatively simple cases. But cases of much greater complexity present themselves to sociological students. We have stated above that the third or the ethical stage was initiated by Gautama Buddha in India, and by Socrates in Greece. This statement, however, may be objected to on two opposite grounds. It may be said, on the one hand, that Buddha and Socrates had been preceded by men like Pythagoras, and the authors of the Upanishads, who not only preached lofty ethical doctrines but did their best to reduce them to practice; and, on the other hand, it may be said with equal reason, that the seed sown by Buddha and Socrates did not germinate and bear fruit until sometime after their death. One line of argument would push back, and the other push forward the date we have fixed for the commencement of the third stage of the second epoch. There are individuals in the western world at the present day who have certainly advanced far into the ethical stage; and the question may arise whether the community to which they belong has entered that stage or not. It may be stated as a general rule, that a nation cannot be said to have reached a higher stage of civilization unless the class referable to that stage exerts sufficient influence to make it felt in its life and activities. We have endeavoured to follow this principle in judging whether

a society has advanced to a higher stage or not. But even in a community which has moved to the highest stage there is a numerical preponderance of the representatives of the lowest stage, among whom are found men but little removed from the savage level, who make their influence felt in a direction the reverse of that to which the individuals belonging to the higher stages would lead their community. A civilized society is thus always acted upon by opposing forces, and the bewildering diversity and complexity of sociological phenomena render the determination of the direction of the resultant force a task of extreme difficulty.

It is often as difficult to decide when a stage has terminated as to settle when it has commenced. The momentum of the forces, whether making for material, intellectual or moral progress, propels a society forward even after the forces have ceased to exist. The first stage is thus often projected into the second or even into the third, and the second is usually projected into the third.

The above considerations hold in the case of epochs as in that of stages. In fact the stages or epochs overlap each other, and the dates of the commencement and of the termination of a stage or epoch are necessarily of a conjectural character and must be taken as altogether approximate, especially as the records whence they are gathered are often very obscure, imperfect, and unreliable.

How civilization spreads.

It will be inferred from what has been said above, that the progress of man has not been continuous. As the third stage is characterised by harmony rather than by mobility, civilizations which attain that stage* remain in a more or less stationary condition during succeeding epochs, and the younger civilizations while in the earlier stages of these epochs are necessarily at a lower level. But the culture of a particular stage during any epoch is of a higher order and embraces a larger number of peoples than that of the same stage in the preceding epoch. This must necessarily be the case as the culture of the later periods is to a great extent based upon that of the earlier. Thus the cultural development of the various stages of the second epoch covered a larger area and, as regards quality, was superior to that of the corresponding stages in the first epoch, including as it did India, Persia, Asia Minor, Greece and Rome, and embracing the artistic, intellectual and ethical culture of the Greeks and Hindus. The civilization of the current epoch covers a much larger area than that of the preceding epoch, and its artistic and intellectual achievements have been on a much grander scale. Our ethical ideals still remain the same as those attained during the third stage of the last epoch. In fact an earnest endeavour to realise them is not as yet noticeable on the part of the younger and more vigorous civi-

* These cases will be considered in some detail in Chapter III.

lizations of the present day. When they actually attain the third stage, however, not only will such an endeavour be made, but it is possible, that these ideals will be superseded by loftier ones of which we can have no clear conception now.

CHAPTER II.

THE FACTORS OF CIVILIZATION.

1. Internal Factors.

Desire for the superfluous.

Animals do not concern themselves with anything beyond their physical wants, and these wants remain constant for the same type if the environment does not change. The wants of the tiger, or of the elephant, are the same now as they were when they came into existence. Even when animals have built shelters for themselves they have not varied for ages. In man, on the contrary, we find, from the earliest times of which we have any definite information, implanted a desire for the superfluous, and with him what is superfluous to-day becomes necessary to-morrow. Thus his wants vary and increase incessantly.

Leads to progress.

The desire for things superfluous may be connected either with physical wants, the wants of the outer life, or with mental and spiritual wants, the wants of the inner life. These are the two psychical factors of civilization, the former leading to industrial and commercial expansion and to such artistic or intellectual development as is related to this expansion, and the latter to higher artistic, intellectual and ethical culture. This aspiration for progress is not met with in the same degree of intensity in all the races. In the dawn of history it was developed by only branches of the Aryan, the Semitic and Mongolian races in the Old World; and in later times by the Toltecs, the Aztecs and the yncas in the New. The fertile valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates, the Ganges and the Yellow River had been inhabited, probably for ages, by black-skinned and other aborigines without their attaining a high stage of development. These are, however, precisely the regions where branches of the Semitic, the Aryan, and the Mongolian races developed their civilizations.

Material progress, the result of the cosmic process of evolution.

It is owing to the desire for the superfluous in respect of his physical wants that the clothing of man has advanced from the bark, skin, or leaf-covering to most gorgeous drapery; that the shelter over his head has progressed from rude caves undistinguishable from the lairs of wild beasts to magnificent palaces; and that his tools, weapons and implements

have been ceaselessly improved and enlarged until we have, as a result, the complicated machinery of modern times. It is this desire which has spurred him on to accumulate wealth and to raise perpetually his standard of comforts and luxuries so that the goal of to-day becomes the starting point of to-morrow.

The gratification of the longing for material progress calls into play various social activities, political, industrial and commercial. These activities, having reference to the physical or the animal side of man, are governed by the same law which holds in the animal world, the survival of the fittest. They are, therefore, most in evidence, most pronounced in the first stage of civilization. There may be considerable intellectual development, but it is directed not towards the wants of the inner life, but towards those of the outer life, towards the invention or improvement of tools and machinery for industrial development, or of the weapons and munitions of warfare which have survival-value in the material existence of a nation. The nations, who invent improved weapons and machinery, efficiently protect themselves against the inclemencies of weather, have nourishing, wholesome and regular diet, and accumulate wealth to some extent, get the better of those who are less advanced in these respects in the race for animal existence. There may also be a certain amount of moral progress. But as it is made subservient to material evolution, there are developed such qualities as industry, discipline, perse-

verance, patience and fortitude, which have survival-value, but not such virtues as charity, humility, mercy, self-sacrifice and benevolence which have no such value, so far as the mere material existence of a community is concerned. The process of material evolution is that of strife and competition, and is governed by the law of the survival of the fittest. It has ever been one of ceaseless fighting, of individual against individual, of class against class, and of nation against nation.

Cultural development, the result of non-cosmic process.

Not so with the aspiration for cultural progress. It has been evolved by a process different from, and partly even antagonistic to that by which the desire for material progress has been satisfied. The struggle for existence has served as an incentive to mechanical, industrial and commercial development, but not to real artistic, intellectual, or ethical culture, which is the highest product of civilization—the product which is of permanent value and of abiding interest to humanity. The antithesis is most marked in the highest stage of civilization, that of ethical and spiritual development; when the weak and the helpless are protected against the strong and the powerful; when the diseased, the deranged and the vicious are protected against themselves; and when, as in India, humanity is carried so far that even animals are protected against human depredation, and large sections of the community abstain from animal food. But the same antithesis is observable, though in a lesser degree, in the development

of artistic or intellectual culture also. The work which absorbs the inspired artist in his studio, or the devoted philosopher in his study is often done with as little reference to material ends as that of the self-sacrificing philanthropist who does his duty for duty's sake. Man seeks culture, whether artistic, intellectual, ethical or spiritual, generally at the sacrifice of material interests, and not unoften also of physical comforts. Such culture instead of helping often hampers him and sometimes quite unfits him for the struggle for animal existence. Even the palæolithic man used his leisure to decorate the cave he dwelt in, and to engrave on horns, tusks, and bones of the animals he killed in the chase. And though such work did not help him in the struggle for existence, he took so much pains over it, that some of his paintings and engravings, as, for instance, those of the mammoth, the rein-deer, and the bison, found in the caves of Perigord and the Pyrenees will bear comparison even with the fine animal studies of modern artists. The neolithic man gratified his æsthetic sense by ornamenting his vases, and the handles of his implements. The Proto-Aryans, in contemplating the blue vault above and possibly pouring forth their prayers to the Dyaus Pitar (the Sky-Father), laid the foundation of that spiritual culture which was to attain such magnificent development in a subsequent stage of Aryan civilization.

Religion was the chief motive force for culture in the earliest stage of all ancient civilizations. Artistic talent found its chief vent in tombs or temples and in

hymns to gods and goddesses. Sciences such as astronomy and geometry were cultivated for religious purposes. Later on, culture was pursued either for its own sake, or for ends other than material—extension of the domain of Law in the physical and the mental world, and the discovery of truth, or of the path of salvation. Plato may be taken as a type of ancient philosophers. He held, as did Aristotle also after him, that "the activity of pure speculative intellect is the highest and best mode of human existence;"* and, it is said, he remonstrated with his friend Archytas for inventing machines of extraordinary power which could be put to practical use. The highest caste among the Hindus, the Bráhmans, were forbidden to engage in all money-making occupations. They were enjoined to devote themselves to intellectual or spiritual pursuits only. Until lately, Bráhmans, who accepted remuneration for services rendered, were looked down upon. It is declared in the Manusamhitá (the Code of Manu) that Bráhmans who are "hired servants or usurers" should be treated as Súdras (the lowest caste).

Cultural advance before the dawn of civilization.

There are some grounds for concluding, that the cultural advance made by the Aryans, the Semites and the Mongolians just before the dawn of civilization, while they were probably living together in the same region (in Central Asia or elsewhere) not far

* H. Sidgwick, "History of Ethics," p. 53.

from one another, was much the same. There are many striking points of resemblance between the earliest stages of the Chinese and the Chaldean civilizations. The Chinese language is closely related to the ancient language of Chaldea. The dawn of history finds the Chaldeans and the Chinese in possession of astronomical knowledge of a similar character. There is close agreement even in some of the anomalies of the early Chinese and Akkadian (Chaldean) astronomy—*e.g.*, in the orientation of the cardinal points. The ancient Indo-Aryans, the Chinese, and the Chaldeans were all acquainted with the Zodiac.

As in astronomy, so in religion, there are several important points of agreement among the founders of civilization. The Indo-Aryans worshipped the Dyaus Pitar (the Sky-Father) as their principal God. Amongst the Egyptians, as amongst the Babylonians, *Nu* "The Expanse of the Heavens" stands at the head of the entire system of deities; and the Egyptian word *nutra*, a god, is derived from *Nut*, "The Sky." In the Chinese scriptures, again, Heaven (tien) occupies the first rank.

Upon these and similar points of contact in the earliest astronomical and religious conceptions of the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Indo-Aryans and the Chinese, various theories have been built up by western savants. Biot and Lassen were of opinion, that the Hindu *Nakshastras* (constellations) were borrowed from the Chinese Sieu. Weber demonstrated the untenability of this hypothesis, but started one of his own—

that the Hindu system had been borrowed from the Babylonian ; and Whitney supported him. MaxMüller, however, showed that they were both wrong. The eminent Assyriologist, Hommel, strongly advocates the hypothesis, that the Egyptian culture was borrowed from the Chaldean. There are, however, scholars like Heeren who maintain that Egypt derived her civilization from India.

It is, we venture to think, as reasonable to infer from a few points of similarity between two civilizations, that one is derived from the other, as to conclude from a few points of similarity between two organisms, that one is genetically connected with the other. The agreement, in part at least, is more satisfactorily explicable on the hypothesis of their descent from a common prototype. It is, we are inclined to think, highly probable, that the ancestors of the races who originated the civilizations of antiquity developed a certain degree of culture, which served as a nucleus for further development, after their separation and racial differentiation. However that may be, there was considerable divergence in the nature and degree of that evolution. The Semitic race in Mesopotamia and Egypt made marvellous progress in some branches of the Fine Arts, but did not go very far towards intellectual or ethical development ; the Aryans in India, on the contrary, made much greater progress in the latter than in the former ; while the practical Chinese kept to the middle path, not advancing very far in either.

Antithesis between cosmic and non-cosmic processes.

Why a few only of the numerous peoples inhabiting the globe developed the latent aptitudes for culture which appear to exist in all the races; and why there was such considerable divergence in the amount and nature of that development, are questions which are put only to remind us of human limitations, notwithstanding the great advances made of late in all departments of knowledge. Heredity and environment, organic and inorganic, explain a good deal, but not much. All that can be said at present is, that the process of cultural development is not the same as that of material development, and that the two processes are to a great extent antithetic. Wallace and Huxley clearly saw the antagonism between them. Huxley calls the process which leads to moral development the ethical process as distinguished from the *cosmic* process of natural selection.* Wallace who shares with Darwin the honour of first propounding the theory of Natural Selection, postulates "the existence in man of something which he has not derived from his animal progenitors, something which we may best refer to as being of spiritual essence or nature, capable of

* "Social progress" says Huxley "means a checking of the cosmic process at every step and the substitution for it of another, which may be called the ethical process; the end of which is not the survival of those who may happen to be the fittest, in respect of the whole of the conditions which obtain, but of those who are ethically the best." (Romanes Lecture, 1893).

progressive development under favourable conditions. On the hypothesis of this spiritual nature, superadded to the animal nature of man, we are able to understand much that is otherwise mysterious or unintelligible in regard to him, especially the enormous influence of ideas, principles and beliefs over his whole life and actions. Thus alone can we understand the constancy of the martyr, the unselfishness of the philanthropist, the devotion of the patriot, the enthusiasm of the artist, and the resolute and persevering search of the scientific worker after nature's secrets. Thus we may perceive that the love of truth, the delight in beauty, the passion for justice, and the thrill of exultation with which we hear of any act of courageous self-sacrifice, are the workings within us of a higher nature which has *not been developed by means of the struggle for existence.*"

The utility of cultural development to the race is of a nature which cannot be foreseen by the individuals who pursue it, least of all by the community to which they belong. When Gautama Buddha preached his sublime religion, he could not have dreamt of the enormous influence which it would exert on humanity centuries after his death. During his life time, and for a long time after his death, it made but little progress even in India. The utility of wealth, of industries, of fortifications, and of armaments, for the existence of a nation is well understood ; but not that of philosophy, science, or spirituality.

The process which has led to the cultural development of man is somewhat akin to the process of artificial selection by which man produces improved races of plants and animals, if, in the place of man, we postulate the agency of some supernatural Power directing the cultural evolution of man for some purpose which can, at best, be only dimly seen by us.

According to Wallace, it is a kind of *divine* selection which has brought man to the highest point of intellectual and moral development. He sees the "absolute necessity of a creative and directive power and mind, as exemplified in the wonderful phenomena of growth, of organisation, and fundamentally of cell-structure and of life itself;" and arrives at the conclusion that "there are now in the universe infinite grades of power, infinite grades of knowledge and wisdom, infinite grades of influence of higher beings upon lower;" and that "this vast and wonderful universe, with its almost infinite variety of forms, motions, and reactions of part upon part, from suns and systems up to plant life, animal life, and the human living soul, has ever required, and still requires the continuous co-ordinated agency of myriads of such intelligences."*

* "The World of Life" (Lond. 1911) pp. 399-400. This last word of one of the masters of modern Science accords closely with the teachings of Hindu Philosophy. The superior intelligences of Wallace correspond to the Hindu Devas.

2. External Factors.

Influence of physical environment.

The main impulse for civilization comes from within, from the twofold desire for the superfluous in regard to physical necessities, and in respect of psychical wants. But it is greatly influenced by environment, physical as well as biological. The physical environment influences civilization most during its early steps. Its influence diminishes with the extension of man's dominion over Nature. In cold countries, man requires ampler clothing and larger quantities of nutritious diet than in temperate and warm climates. His struggle for animal existence there is therefore keener. His energy being expended to meet the physical necessities of life, he has in the earlier stages of progress, but little of it left for those superfluities—material, moral, and intellectual—the development of which constitutes civilization. Consequently, civilization first made rapid progress in temperate and warm regions, and especially in those parts of them where extensive, fertile, alluvial plains of large rivers—such as the Nile, the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Indus, and the Ganges—yielded abundant harvests without much exertion. Large populations grew up in these lands, and early accumulation of wealth, the necessary accompaniment of civilization, took place.

The strenuous life led by the peoples inhabiting the colder northern countries has left its impress on their national character. They have by natural selection

developed combativeness, and such qualities as energy, endurance, perseverance and determination in a much larger measure than the inhabitants of the more enervating climates of the south. Ever since the dawn of history, the military and predatory spirit has been more prevalent among the northern than among the southern nations. The stream of invasion has flowed from north to south, and but seldom in the reverse direction. The civilized nations of China, India, Babylonia and Egypt were subjected to repeated invasions by barbarian hordes from the north ; and ancient political history is to no small extent the story of the conquest of a civilized nation by some vigorous tribe from the north at a lower stage of civilization, to be similarly supplanted when that tribe has been settled for sometime and assimilated by the nation to its civilization.

The situation and configuration of a country have in no small measure affected its civilization. The Phœnicians, for instance, enclosed by mountains, which prevented their inland expansion, and possessing a long coastline favourable for seaports, became a great maritime and industrial power. They provided Asia with the products of Europe, and Europe with the products of Asia. They coasted the western side of Europe and Africa, and planted colonies in the islands and the coasts of the Mediterranean. They were the great mining people of antiquity, and were also one of the chief manufacturing powers. Like Phœnicia,

Greece is favourably situated for maritime commerce. Smaller than Portugal she has a coast-line as great as that of Spain ; and the Greeks have been noted as a maritime people. They followed in the wake of the Phœnicians, and like them spread all over the ancient world interchanging the merchandise and culture of the East and the West.

Biological environment: influence of aborigines upon ancient civilization.

The most important factor of the biological environment which has affected civilization is man himself. Whether in China, India, Babylonia, Egypt or Greece the intrusive immigrants found the lands already occupied. In India, as the Aryans spread eastward from the banks of the Indus, they came into collision with the aborigines, who opposed their advance, disturbed their sacrifices, and harassed them in endless ways. For such acts which, no doubt, seemed to the Aryans very discourteous, they called their adversaries *Dasyus* "robbers" and *Rakshasas* "evil spirits." In China, as the invading immigrants advanced from the forests of Shanse, they found the country inhabited by people to whom they applied such epithets as "fiery dogs," "ungovernable vermin" &c. In Babylonia, the Sumerians had already made some advance towards civilization before they were conquered by the Semites. There is some dispute among archæologists as to the route followed by the Egyptian immigrants ; but there is none in regard to the fact that they found the country already occupied. The Hellenes were preceded by the

Pelasgians in Greece, and the Latins and Sabines by the Etruscans in Italy.

The civilization in each of these cases bears the impress of the dominant intrusive race, but there is sufficient evidence to show, that it was to no small extent, influenced by the contact with the aborigines, though it is often extremely difficult to tell exactly what the conquerors gave to, and what they borrowed from the conquered. The disparity, at starting, between the culture of the conquerors and that of the conquered could not have been nearly so great as that between the white conquering nations and the conquered black and yellow races of Africa, Australia and America in modern times. This is probably the chief reason, why, instead of being exterminated, the aborigines multiplied and throve and large bodies of them were gradually incorporated with the society of the more powerful new-comers. The Sumerians of Chaldea had made some progress in culture before they were subjugated by the Semites. The latter borrowed the culture and writing of the former and regarded their language as sacred. The case was probably somewhat analogous to the later one of the conquest of the Etruscans by the Romans. In Chinese records, some of the aboriginal tribes who opposed the advance of the invading immigrants are described as "great bow-men" and "mounted warriors." In the Rigveda, some of the "black-skinned" tribes are referred to by the Aryan conquerors as possessing forts and cities. In Egypt,

as early as the time of the Pyramids, the Nubians who were mostly Negroes, were employed as mercenary troops. There were also various other peoples on the Egyptian frontier like the Libyans and the Menti.

Aboriginal influence in India.

We have no precise information as to the share which the aborigines had in building up the civilization of these countries. But that they had a share is beyond question. We have abundant evidence of this in India. There sprang up in that country a mixed social organisation composed partly of the Aryans and partly of the Dravidians and other aborigines. The numerical preponderance of the latter is testified by the fact, that at the present day the number of those who can reasonably claim pure Aryan descent is very much smaller than that of the mixed castes, and castes of indubitable aboriginal descent. That the Aryan, however, was the dominant factor in the Indian civilization is proved among other things by Sanskrit (the language of the Indo-Aryans) being the vehicle of its culture, and by the dialects of the mixed communities, which are either derived from Sanskrit, or have a strong infusion of Sanskrit vocabulary in them. But the aboriginal element of the mixed population exerted considerable influence upon the course of Hindu civilization. Politically, tribes of aborginal origin were dominant in southern India. Even in northern India a dynasty of Sudra kings of non-Aryan or mixed origin became paramount

in the fourth century before the Christian era. "Sandracottus" (Chandragupta) of Greek history and the far-famed Buddhist emperor, Asoka the great, belonged to that dynasty. That the religion of the Indo-Aryans was profoundly affected by the Dravidian contact is proved by the history of that vast system of polytheism, known as Hinduism, which was gradually developed from the much simpler, non-idolatrous cult of the Indo-Aryans of the Rigvedic period.

In Egypt and China.

Something like what happened in India probably also took place in Egypt and China, though the evidence in the case of the latter countries is not so clear. As in race and language, so in religion also, the mixed Nigritian and Semitic character is discernible in Egypt. The representation of divinities by animals—such as that of Re-Osiris by a bull, Ea by a ram, Isis by a cow &c.—and the strange honours paid to animals such as cats, crocodiles and serpents, were in all probability due to the influence of the Nigritian aborigines. The Egyptians had a large number of local deities such as Amon of Thebes and Neit of Sais, some at least of whom have been surmised by archæologists to have been of African origin.

Influence of one civilization upon another.

The preservation of any type of social organism depends in a large measure upon its geographical situation. Isolation is favourable to it. In the case of savage communities living in mountain fastnesses or in islands,

such as the Veddas of Ceylon, some of the hill tribes of India, the Andamanese, and the Tasmanians, who maintained but little communication with the outside world, the state of culture attained by them was maintained for ages with but little modification. A century or so ago, their social or mental development was found to be not far removed from that of the stone age. Isolation to such an extent, however, is not possible in the case of civilized nations. It is in some measure artificially kept up by every civilized community considering every other outside its pale as barbarous. The Chinese probably carried the spirit of self-containment farther than any other civilized nation of antiquity. Until recently, they were averse to every thing foreign. The Egyptians also were very exclusive till about the close of the seventh century B.C. But such conservatism is undermined by various agencies among which commerce is the most important. Interchange of ideas takes place along with that of commodities. Travellers and students follow in the wake of commerce. Their sojourn in a foreign country, whether for pleasure or for the acquisition of knowledge, broadens their views, and they carry back ideas which, if sown on congenial soil, flourish and fructify. The opening of the Egyptian ports in 670 B. C. accelerated the rationalistic movement in Greece. The Greeks were deeply impressed by all they saw in Egypt, and their civilization was considerably influenced by it. Thales, who may be said to have originated

Greek philosophy, had travelled in Egypt and derived his leading ideas from that country. Pythagoras lived in Egypt for a number of years, as did also Anaxagoras, and Egyptian *influence* is discernible in their philosophy.

Influence of Egypt and Mesopotamia upon each other and upon Greece.

In the civilized world of antiquity, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Greece and Egypt were much more closely knit with one another by the bond of commerce, than they were with the civilized states of Eastern Asia. It is chiefly owing to this cause, that there are certain characteristics common to the civilizations of Western Asia and the Mediterranean area which distinguish them from those of Eastern Asia. The Assyrian artists imitated those of Chaldea. The Greeks imitated the Assyrian bas-reliefs, and were largely inspired by Egyptian culture. The coincidences in the mythologies of Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Egypt and Greece are very striking. The consort of the Babylonian Merodach was Istar, who appears among the Greeks as Aphrodite, and among the Phœnicians as Astoret. The Nimrod Epos, which describes the adventures of Geshdubar, who on his return home is received into the Babylonian Valhalla, forms the basis of the Greek myths of Heracles, Melicertes (Melkart of Phœnicia) and Glaucus. The legends underlying these myths were in all probability carried by Phœnician commerce from Babylon to Greece. Europe owes its alphabet to that commerce. Many

of the ante-Homeric legends of the Greeks were derived from Egypt.

Influence of India in Eastern Asia.

The influence of India was predominant in Eastern Asia, as that of Egypt was in Western Asia and the Mediterranean. Chinese and Japanese thought and art have been greatly influenced by Indian ideals since the time of the Emperor Asoka. There was close commercial relation between India and the Far East, and that relation was maintained by land as well as sea routes. Missionaries and student-pilgrims travelled along these routes. There were at one time more than three thousand Indian monks and ten thousand Indian families at Loyang in China. The great influence which they exerted may be judged from the fact that they gave "phonetic values to the Chinese ideographs, a movement which in the eighth Century resulted in the creation of the present Japanese alphabet."* The sculptures of the celebrated caves of Ellora inspired the Tang art of China. Numbers of student-pilgrims like Fa-Hian, It-Sing, and Hiouen-Thsang travelled in India for years, studied in her universities, and translated philosophical and theological works from Sanskrit into Chinese.

Influence of the Far East upon America.

As India influenced the civilization of the Far East, so did the Far East, in its turn, influence the civilizations of Mexico and Peru, though, perhaps, to a lesser

* K. Okakura, "Ideals of the East."

extent. The Chinese and the Japanese had carried on trade with America and had even established small settlements there long before it was discovered by Columbus.* The similarity between the Mexican and the Mongolian calendars is very striking. The Mexican idea of the four ages or Yugas resembles that of the Buddhists, as does also that of the nine stages of heaven and hell. The Toltec tradition of the mysterious Quetzalcoatl who is described as a fair man with "noble features, long black hair, and full beard, dressed in flowing robes" and as a "saintly ruler," probably refers to a Buddhist missionary. He is said to have dwelt twenty years among the Toltecs (one of the most ancient of the civilized races of Central America), and taught them to "follow his austere and ascetic life, to hate all violence and war, to sacrifice no men or beasts on the altars, but to give mild offerings of bread and flowers and perfumes." Such a mild doctrine could not in the earlier centuries of the Christian era have come from any other quarter than Eastern Asia. Legend tells stories of the mysterious visitor teaching the Toltecs "picture-writing and the calendar, and also the artistic work of the silversmith for which Cholula was long famed."†

* A. de Quatrefages, "The Human Species." pp. 202-206.

† Encyc. Britan, ninth edition, article "Mexico." "The Story of the Nations, Mexico" pp. 29-30.

Mutual influence of the East and the West.

That there was some trade-communication between India and Western Asia and Egypt in ancient times hardly admits of any doubt. But it was Alexander's Asiatic invasion which first brought India into close contact with the West. Since that time, India has to no small extent influenced the civilizations of the West and been also influenced thereby. Megasthenes lived for a considerable time as the envoy of Seleukos to the court of the Emperor Chandragupta at Pataliputra (modern Patna). Bindusára, Chandragupta's successor, carried on correspondence with Antiochus. Ptolemy Philadelphus sent an envoy, Dionysius, to the Indian court. About the middle of the third century B. C. the emperor Asoka sent missionaries to preach Buddhism in the Greek kingdoms of Western Asia, Africa, and Europe. Indo-Greek monarchs ruled on the north-western frontier of India for nearly three centuries (third century B.C. to first century A.D.), and the Punjab remained under Greek occupation for a considerable portion of that period.

Thus India came into close contact with the West and the two influenced each other, though there is considerable diversity of opinion in regard to the extent of that influence. Some scholars like Weber and Windische, for instance, are of the opinion that the Sanskrit drama is of Greek origin. There are other scholars, however, such as Sylvian Levi, who differ from them. There is less dispute about Hellenistic influence on

Indian Art. During the early centuries of the Christian era there existed in Gándhára (Candahar) and the adjoining country a school of Indo-Hellenistic art. The art of coining money was introduced by the Greeks into India ; and according to Max Müller, there is no reason to doubt, "that the idea of temples, or monasteries, or monuments, built and carved in stone, came from Greece, while some of the Indian architecture, even when in stone, shows as clear surviving traces of a native wood-architecture."*

India, on her part, influenced the thought of the West. The influence of Buddhism is discernible in the doctrines of the heretical Gnostic sects. "In the Dialogues between Milinda and Naga Sena, we have," says Prof Max, Müller, "a well authenticated case of a Greek king (Menandros) and of a Buddhist philosopher discussing together some of the highest problems of philosophy and religion." The philosophy of the mystic Plotinus (third century A.D.), the founder of the Neo-Platonist school, who accompanied the Emperor Gordian in his expedition to Persia and India, is strongly tinctured by Vedantism. "His principles and practices," observes Draper, "are altogether Indian."†

After the extinction of the Greek and the Roman empires, the Arabs served as intermediaries between

* "Six systems of Indian Philosophy," p. 80.

† "Intellectual Development of Europe," Ch. VII p. 214.

India and the West. The Medical Science of the West was strongly influenced by that of the Hindus. Numerous drugs of Indian origin are noticed by the Greeks. It is even supposed by some that Hippocrates borrowed from the Hindus. Charaka, the oldest Hindu writer on medical subjects whose works have come down to us, is referred to by Serapion, one of the earliest of the Arab physicians, as well as by Avicenna and Rhazes. A variety of treatises on medical science were translated from the Sanskrit into Arabic and Persian, and two Hindu physicians Mankeh and Saleh, the former of whom translated a special Sanskrit treatise on poison into Persian, held appointments as body physicians to Harun-ul-Rashid. The Saracens introduced the Indian method of Arithmetic and the Indian Algebra and Chemistry into Europe.

Environmental agencies within a community.

We have hitherto been considering the influence of one community upon another on the same or different planes of culrure. Within a community also there are environmental agencies, ideals, traditions, and institutions, embodied in various classes, such as, guilds, corporations, priestly heirarchies and governments, which affect progress. Of all such agencies the government is perhaps the most potent. A sympathetic, well-informed, well-balanced and well-constituted government can do much to accelerate progress. Japan presents one of the most conspicuous examples of such

acceleration in recent times. On the other hand, a bad, ill-regulated and ill-constituted government, and a government that meddles much in matters which are beyond its proper sphere can do much to retard it.

The influence of government, however, whether beneficent or maleficent is chiefly confined to material development.* By wise laws, the maintenance of order, and judicious public works, it may promote it, as by injudicious legislation and undue meddlesomeness, it may retard it in various ways. Instances of both kinds would no doubt occur to every student of history. The gigantic engineering works by Pharaoh Mena (or Menes) about 4777 B.C. converted the Nile into a fertilising river and laid the foundation of the material development of Egypt. On the other hand, as forcibly pointed out by Buckle, protective legislation in England considerably retarded her material progress for a long

* Buckle takes a somewhat extreme view in regard to the influence of government upon civilisation: "The extent to which the governing classes have interfered, and the mischiefs which that interference has produced are so remarkable, as to make thoughtful men wonder how civilization could advance in the face of such repeated obstacles. In some of the European countries the obstacles have, in fact, proved insuperable, and the national progress is thereby stopped." The influence of government has, in these cases, been undoubtedly baneful. It is undeniable that whether for good or for bad, government does exert considerable influence. If a balance be struck, the bad perhaps outweighs the good, for, as Buckle rightly observes: "The love of exercising power has been found to be so universal, that no class of men who have possessed authority have been able to avoid abusing it." "History of Civilisation in England," Ch. V.).

time. So far as intellectual or moral culture is concerned government can do but little to promote it directly.* Such is especially the case with governments dominated by democratic influence. The lower strata in democratic states are often raised, but at the expense of the higher. While the mass of the people are levelled up, the superior men among them are levelled down. In every community the teachings and examples of a small body of wise men elevate the proletariat. The cultural progress of the community depends upon whether the influence of the former prevails over that of the latter; whether the upward impulse is stronger than the downward. Under excessive democratic influence, the elevatory movement tends to be greatly weakened. This tendency is noticeable in ethics as well as in literature and art. The excessive increase of democratic influence tends to exclude the wise and the good from government, as they cannot stoop to practices which are necessary to secure and retain a place in it. The result of such exclusion is far from wholesome. Knowledge extends over a wider surface, but loses in depth. Authors having to adapt themselves to the moral and intellectual

* As Flinders Petrie rightly observes: "Government is of great concern, but of little import. Constitutional history is a barren figment compared with the permanent value of Art, Literature, Science, or Economics. What man *does* is the essential in each civilization, how he advances in capacities, and what he bequeaths to future ages." ("Revolutions of Civilization," p. 123).

capabilities of the more or less ignorant mob, there is a profusion of what is called light literature, but a great dearth of thoughtful works such as would promote culture and elevate character.

The view which Socrates took of politics, that he was "too upright a man to be safe" in it holds good more or less of all governments, but especially of governments where democratic influence prevails to an inordinate extent. It is this influence which, as we shall see hereafter, stood in the way of the expansion of the higher Hellenic culture, intellectual and moral. The leaders of Greek thought, from Pythagoras to Aristotle, were mostly persecuted, some were sent into exile and some condemned to death. There is, perhaps, no tyranny more incompatible with higher culture than the tyranny of an ignorant democracy.*

* At the present day, the most democratic of all governments, that of the United States, appears to be among the most corrupt and most exclusive of culture. Dr. L. P. Jacks, Vice-Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, and Editor of the *Hibbert Journal*, who visited America lately observes:—

"The professional politics of America are corrupt and debased to an extraordinary degree....As things now are America is not a self-governing country except in name. The power behind the Government is the political machine, which is controlled by the "bosses" and has become a veritable tyranny. The machine is a contrivance of remarkable ingenuity which can only be compared with the inventions of Edison ; and its object is simply that of depriving free men of free use of their votes. I came in contact everywhere with men who groan under its tyranny."

CHAPTER III.

SURVIVAL OF CIVILIZATION.

Longlived and shortlived civilizations.

Of the civilizations which were developed during the first and second epochs only two have survived into the present epoch, —the Chinese and the Indian. The Egyptian civilization also had a long term of life (over six thousand years), having struggled on to the commencement of the third epoch. The civilizations which have come to an untimely end are more numerous,—those of Assyria, Phœnicia, Greece, Rome and Persia in the old world and of Mexico and Peru in the new. An investigation of the causes which have enabled the Chinese and the Indian civilizations to outlive the others would enable us to deduce the conditions of such survival. The cases, whether of survival or of extinction, are perhaps too few to warrant sound

generalisations. But the subject is of such vast importance that it is worthy of an attempt in this direction, though it may prove far from conclusive.

Extinction of civilization does not imply annihilation of its culture.

One word of explanation is needed before we make the attempt. The extinction of a civilization does not mean the annihilation of its culture. The individual who is moved chiefly or solely by the impulse for material progress, whose existence is bound up with the comforts and luxuries of animal life, finds himself a complete wreck when deprived of these, and has but little to bequeath to posterity. The man, on the other hand, in whom the impulse for the development of the outer life is well-balanced by that for the unfolding of the inner, whose hopes and aspirations instead of being centred in his material possessions soar beyond them into the region of the ideal and the immaterial, is but little affected by the loss of these, and has sufficient internal resource to enable him to survive it. His cultural progress does not perish with his body, but is transmitted to posterity and benefits mankind. As in the case of the individual, so in that of the nation, the force making for cultural development, though of no survival-value in the race for material existence, is of enormous value to it as enabling it to maintain its life even when outrun in that race by other nations, and is of supreme value to humanity which is benefited far more by the cultural than by the material developments of past generations.

The high intellectual and ethical attainments of Socrates failed to save his life. Indeed, they were the cause of his untimely death. But their spirit has survived even to the present day and has served to enlighten, inspire and elevate many an earnest seeker after truth. The æsthetic and intellectual culture of Greece was of no avail to her in her conflict with Rome, but all that is best in it has survived to the present day and has benefited humanity to no inconsiderable extent.

Equilibrium between material and ethical development favours survival.

The Chinese and the Indian civilizations agreed with each other and differed from the others in one important point. They had both made sufficient advance in the third stage to establish equilibrium between the various forces which operate for material, intellectual and ethical development. As a certain amount of material development is the essential concomitant of cultural progress, the two sets of forces, one operating by a process which has been called cosmic and leading to the former, and the other working by a process which has been distinguished as non-cosmic* and resulting in the latter, must act simultaneously in a civilized society. The forces which make for material progress prevail over those which operate for higher cultural development in the first stage of civilization, in which matter dominates the mind, and

* *Vide Ante* pp. 26—28.

the outer or the animal life is thought more of than the inner or the spiritual. Their intensity and strength diminish in the latter stages with the increasing efficacy of the forces which operate towards intellectual and ethical culture, and the stability of a civilization depends upon whether equilibrium is eventually established between these two sets of forces.

Want of such equilibrium unfavourable to survival—case of Greece.

Excessive material development inevitably leads to highly unequal distribution of wealth. As a consequence of this disparity, society is divided into two classes — one, the smaller, rolling in wealth and luxury, and the other, much the larger of the two, grovelling in poverty and misery. Both of these classes being governed by no higher ideal than that of material development, no higher aspiration than the attainment of physical benefits, there is ceaseless jealousy and strife between them. Greece attained to the third stage, but did not make much progress in it. The extinction of her civilization is mainly attributable to this incomplete development of ethical and spritual culture. The moral consciousness of Greece as exhibited by Plato, probably the best exponent of her highest culture, recognised four cardinal virtues, — wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice. Aristotle's list of the principal virtues is based upon that of Plato. Neither altruism, nor even such restricted benevolence as would embrace the whole nation, has a place in either. The material element of the Greek civilization was never well-balanced by the spiritual. Wealth

had been made the criterion of social rank by Solon during the second stage of her civilization; and that standard continued in the third.* For several centuries, there was a constant struggle between the rich and the poor, the Oligarchy and the Democracy. The ethical and spiritual culture of Greece was not sufficiently advanced to establish harmony and amity between them. They hated and incessantly fought one another for nearly three centuries. When the democratic party was in the ascendant, they sent the rich into exile or massacred them and confiscated their property. When the rich returned to power, they treated the poor in the same way. The centre of gravity now shifted to one side and now to the other, and temporary equilibrium was established, but only by the adjustment of the cosmic forces, not by the setting off of the cosmic against the non-cosmic. Thus there was a continual loss of national energy and national solidarity, and the fabric of Greek civilization gave way through internal weakness. If Greece had succeeded

* Plato's system adumbrated a social structure approximating to that of the Chinese and the Hindus. "In a rightly ordered state, as he conceived it, there would be a governing class, the embodiment of wisdom, and a combative class, specially characterised by courage; which would both be kept distinct from the common herd of industrials, who — like appetites in the individual man — would have merely to provide for material needs, and whose relation to the state would simply be that of orderly obedience." (Sidgwick, "History of Ethics," p. 45). Plato's speculations, however, did not lead to any practical result.

in building up a harmonious system of civilization, if its material and spiritual elements had been sufficiently well-balanced, it would have survived the loss of her independence. As it was, it did survive her conquest by Rome for some centuries in Egypt and Asia Minor.

Extinction of Roman civilization due to excessive materialism.

The baneful results of excessive materialism, especially of the concentration of wealth within a small section of the community are well exemplified in the case of Rome. With the culture borrowed from Greece, she made some advance in the second stage of civilization, but she hardly even stepped into the third. She was immersed in the grossest materialism. The brutal instincts of the people were displayed in their utmost hideousness in the bloody games of the amphitheatre in all the important cities of the Roman Empire. Sometimes instead of placing armed men before the beasts in the arena, the animals were let loose on men who were naked and bound.

"The custom spread into all the cities of the empire compelling those condemned to death to furnish this form of entertainment for the people. Thousands of persons of both sexes and of every age, and among them Christian Martyrs, were thus devoured by beasts under the eyes of the multitude. But the national spectacle of the Romans was the fight of the gladiators (men armed with swords). Armed men descended into the arena and fought a duel to the death. From the time of Cæsar as many as 320 pairs of gladiators were fought at once; Augustus in his whole life fought 10,000 of them, Trajan the same number in four months. The vanquished was

slain on the field unless the people wished to show him grace. Sometimes the condemned were compelled to fight, but more often slaves and prisoners of war. Each victory thus brought to the amphitheatre bands of barbarians who exterminated one another for the delight of the spectators."*

"The accumulation of wealth and power [in Rome] gave rise to a universal depravity. Law ceased to be of any value. A suitor must deposit a bribe before a trial could be had. The social fabric was a festering mass of rottenness. The people had become a populace; the aristocracy was demoniac; the city was a hell. No crime that the annals of human wickedness can show was left unperpetrated—remorseless murders; the betrayal of parents, husbands, wives, friends; poisoning reduced to a system; adultery degenerating into incest, and crimes that cannot be written. Women of the higher classes were so lascivious, depraved and dangerous, that men could not be compelled to contract matrimony with them; marriage was displaced by concubinage; even virgins were guilty of inconceivable immodesties; great officers of state and ladies of the court, of promiscuous bathings and naked exhibitions. In the time of Cæsar it had become necessary for the Government to interfere, and actually put a premium on marriage. He gave rewards to women who had many children; prohibited those who were under forty-five years of age, and who had no children, from wearing jewels and riding in litters, hoping by such social disabilities to correct the evil. It went on from bad to worse, so that Augustus in view of the general avoidance of legal marriage and resort to concubinage with slaves, was compelled to impose penalties on the unmarried—to enact that they should not inherit by will except from relations. Not that Roman women refrained from the gratification of their desires; their depravity impelled them to such wicked practices as cannot be named in a modern book. They actually reckoned the years, not

* Seignobos "History of Ancient Civilization," pp. 307—308.

by the Consuls, but by the men they had lived with. To be childless, and therefore without the natural restraint of a family, was looked upon as a singular felicity. Plutarch correctly touched the point when he said that the Romans married to be heirs not to have heirs. Of offences that do not rise to the dignity of atrocity, but which excite our loathing, such as gluttony and the most debased luxury, the annals of the times furnish disgusting proofs. It was said, "They eat that they may vomit, and vomit that they may eat." At the taking of Perusium, three hundred of the most distinguished citizens were solemnly sacrificed at the altar of Divus Julius by Octavian! Are these the deeds of civilized men, or the deeds of cannibals drunk with blood?"*

Extension of Roman Empire results in extinction of Roman race.

The extension of the Roman Empire and the excessive material development which it led to brought into play several causes which resulted in the extinction of the Roman race and of the Roman civilization. We have just seen to what serious extent concentration of wealth led to gross extravagance and unbridled debauchery. A society so depraved cannot long hold together. For breeding true to race as well as to the best, it is imperative that the female stock should have a higher standard of chastity than the male, and that standard was debased to a degree in Rome.

The constant wars necessitated by the expansion of the Roman Empire also contributed to the extinction of the Roman race. Every year Rome lost a large

* Draper "Intellectual Development of Europe," Vol. I. pp. 253—254.

number of true Romans on the field of battle. The brilliant conquests effected by these men added to the Roman domains and to the number of slaves. But such additions served only to demoralise and eventually to destroy the Roman people. The old Roman people consisting of small proprietors who tilled their own lands had been completely wiped out by the beginning of the Christian Era. Many had died in the foreign wars. But Roman Imperialism proved a more potent cause for the disappearance of the Roman peasantry who had formed the backbone of the Roman state. When grain poured in from Sicily and Africa, it could no longer be produced by the small proprietors of Italy at a remunerative price. They had to sell their lands to rich neighbours, who made great domains out of small plots ; and it was truly observed by Pliny the Elder that "great domains are the ruin of Italy." The proprietors of the great domains found it advantageous to work them by slave-labour. So the old peasantry could find no work, and wandered about homeless. "The wild beasts of Italy," said Tiberius Gracchus, "have at least their lairs, but the men who offer their blood for Italy have only the light and the air that they breathe ; they wander about without shelter, without a dwelling, with their wives and children. Those generals do but mock them who exhort them to fight for their tombs and temples. Is there one of them who still possesses the sacred altar of his home and the tomb of his ancestors ?

They are called the masters of the world while they have not for themselves a single foot of the earth."

"While the farms were being drained, the city of Rome was being filled with a new population. They were the descendants of the ruined peasants whom misery had driven to the city; besides these there were the freed-men and their children. They came from all corners of the world—Greeks, Syrians, Egyptians, Asiatics, Africans, Spaniards, Gauls—torn from their homes and sold as slaves; later freed by their masters and made citizens, they massed themselves in the city. It was an entirely new people that bore the name Roman. One day Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage and of Numidia, haranguing the people in the forum, was interrupted by the cries of the mob. 'Silence! false sons of Italy,' he cried; 'do as you like; those whom I brought to Rome in chains will never frighten me, if they are no longer slaves.' The populace preserved quiet, but these 'false sons of Italy' the sons of the vanquished, had already taken the place of the old Romans. This new plebeian order could not make a livelihood for itself, and so the state had to provide for it. A beginning was made in 123 B.C. with furnishing corn at half price to all citizens; and this grain was imported from Sicily and Africa. Since the year 63, corn was distributed gratuitously and oil was also provided. There were registers and an administration expressly for these distributions, a special service for furnishing provisions (the Annona). In 46, Cæsar found 320,000 citizens enrolled for these distributions.....This miserable and lazy populace filled the forum on election days and made the laws and the magistrates. The candidates sought to win its favours by giving shows and public feasts, and by dispensing provisions. They even bought votes. This sale took place on a large scale and in broad day.... Poverty corrupted the populace who formed the assemblies;

luxury tainted the men of the old families who composed the Senate." *

The enormous increase in the number of slaves consequent upon the Roman conquests endangered the safety of the Empire. They received kind treatment from a few humane masters, such as Pliny, Seneca and Cicero. But generally they were treated with the greatest cruelty. "If a slave coughs or sneezes during a meal," says Seneca, "if he pursues the flies too slowly, if he lets a key fall noisily to the floor, we fall into a great rage.....often we strike too hard and shatter a limb or break a tooth." One rich Roman used to punish his slaves for carelessness by casting them into a fish pond as food for lampreys. Women were not more humane. Ovid complimenting a woman says. "Many times she had her hair dressed in my presence, but never did she thrust her needle into the arm of the serving woman." The slaves who displeased their masters were ordinarily sent to an underground prison. During the day they had to work loaded with heavy iron chains. Many were branded with red-hot iron. The mill where the slaves had to work is thus described by a Roman author: "Gods! what poor shrunken up men! with white skins striped with blows of the whip.....they wear only the shreds of a tunic; bent forward, head shaved, the feet held in a chain, the body deformed by the heat of the fire, the eyelids

* Seignobos "History of Ancient Civilization," pp. 275—277.

eaten away by the fumes, everything covered with grain dust."

"Subjected to crushing labour or to enforced idleness, always under the threat of the whip or torture, slaves became according to their nature, either melancholy and savage, or lazy and subservient. The most energetic of them committed suicide; the others led a life that was merely mechanical...The majority of them lost all sense of honour...The masters felt themselves surrounded by hate. Pliny the younger, learning that a master was to be assassinated at the bath by slaves, made this reflection., 'This is the peril under which we all live.' 'More Romans,' says another writer, 'have fallen victims to the hate of their slaves than to that of tyrants.' At different times slave revolts flamed up (the Servile Wars), almost always in Sicily and South Italy where slaves were armed to guard the herds. The most noted of these wars was the one under Spartacus." *

Subversion of older material civilizations by newer.

We have considered above the internal risks to which a community engrossed in material pursuits is subject. The external dangers are even more serious. Material aggrandisement exposes a nation to constant attacks from outside—attacks by nations who have suffered by it, or by nations who wish for similar material development. Nothing excites greater jealousy, keener competition, and more insistent strife than such development. In this rivalry and struggle newer nations have generally some advantage over the older, the latter being already

* Seignobos, *Op. Cit.* pp. 259-260.

debilitated by luxury and internal dissension, the inevitable results of accumulation of wealth. It was thus that Greece was overpowered by Rome, and Rome by the Goths, Visigoths and Vandals. Assyria was constantly at war with some neighbouring country, Babylonia, Syria, Palestine or Egypt. The conquered availed themselves of every opportunity to revolt, and the wars were repeated. The Assyrians were thus exhausted and fell an easy prey to a newer and more vigorous nation, the Medes. In B.C. 625 Nineveh, "the lair of lions, the bloody city, the city gorged with prey," as the Jewish prophets called it, was taken and razed to the ground. "Nineveh is laid waste," says the prophet Nahum, "who will bemoan her ?"

Isolation favours survival.

The considerations which have been set forth above will make it clear to the reader how very difficult it is for a civilization to survive the first stage in which matter dominates the mind, and the physical life is valued more than the psychical. One probable reason why the Chinese, the Hindus, and the Egyptians were able to outlive not only the first but also the third stage of civilisation is their isolation. The geographical situation interposed difficult barriers between them and the outside world. Then, again, they were mainly agricultural peoples and were self-contained depending but little upon foreign trade for material evolution which is the necessary antecedent to intellectual or moral progress. Further-more, they maintained their

isolation artificially by an attitude of studied aloofness from everything foreign. When the King of Chow was offered a present of hounds by the people of Leu, he was dissuaded from accepting them by his adviser, who said: "A prince should not value strange things to the contemning of things that are useful, and then his people will be able to supply all his needs...Even dogs and horses which are not native to his country, he will not keep; fine birds and strange animals he will not nourish in his kingdom. When he does not look on foreign goods as precious, foreigners will come to him; when it is work which is precious to him, then his own people will enjoy repose." "These maxims," observes Professor Douglas, "which are held to embalm the highest wisdom, have been carefully acted upon by all virtuous sovereigns, and, from a Chinese point of view, the effect has been excellent." * Egypt maintained her seclusion, and an air of mystery hung over her until the 7th century B.C., when her ports were opened to foreign commerce. The caste-system of the Hindus served to maintain their isolation to a very large extent.

Equilibrium of Chinese civilization maintained since the first epoch.

The longevity of a civilization is insured if it be well advanced in the third stage, if matter be brought well under the control of the mind, and harmony between them is firmly established, just as in the case of the individual ripe old age is the result

* "Confucianism and Taouism," p. 17

of the establishment and maintenance of due harmony between his outer or animal life and his inner or spiritual life. The intellectual development of China was decidedly inferior to that of Greece or India, and in her spiritual and ethical ideals she was in a large measure influenced and inspired by India. Drama has never flourished in China, and there is a great dearth of creative poetry. In her art also there is but little evidence of creative ability. There is profuse ornamentation, and close imitation of reality, but little of imagination and freedom. Chinese pictures thus become mere "mirrored images of life." The literature of China never attained the higher reaches of Indian or Greek thought. But she reached the third stage of civilization in the first epoch during the reign of the Emperor Yaou (about B.C. 2356) and that of his successor Shun, and succeeded in establishing harmony between her material and her ethical development. That harmony has since then been often disturbed, but whenever it has been disturbed, she has had sufficient recuperative power to restore it. The Chinese have been eminently practical. They have maintained the integrity of their civilisation by regulating the action of the cosmic and the non-cosmic forces so as not to be carried by either beyond the thick wall of conservatism within which they early entrenched themselves. They have always kept their material development well under the control of the ethical. Their literature, though wanting in

profound thought or vivid imagination, abounds in rules and maxims of life, in lessons of moderation, self-control and practical morality. With perhaps the single exception of Laotsze, who had a strong leaning towards mysticism, her thinkers were occupied more with practical ethics, with social and political conduct, than with abstruse questions of metaphysics. Neither Confucius nor his eminent follower Mencius (who lived about the close of the fourth century B.C.) was a philosophic recluse propounding theories in the seclusion of his study. They both eagerly sought to live in the courts of kings and put their theories about human nature, society and government into practice, and Confucius was once afforded an opportunity of doing so and met with a certain measure of success.*

* Confucius was appointed magistrate of a town by the Duke Ting, and as such "framed rules for the support of the living, and for the observation of rites for the dead; he arranged appropriate food for the old and the young; and he provided for the proper separation of men and women. And the results were, we are told, that, as in the time of King Alfred, a thing dropt on the road was not picked up; there was no fraudulent carving of vessels; .....and no two prices were charged in the markets. The duke surprised at what he saw, asked the sage whether his rules of government could be applied to the whole state. 'Certainly,' replied Confucius, 'and not only to the state of Loo, but to the whole empire'! Forthwith, therefore, the Duke appointed him Assistant Superintendent of Works, and shortly afterwards appointed him Minister of Crime. Here again his success was complete. From the day of his appointment crime is said to have disappeared, and the penal laws remained a dead letter." ("Confucianism and Taouism," pp. 32-33.)

The industrial activity of China has been great, but her ethical development has been equally great. The aim of her thinkers has ever been to harmonise these two opposing forces. The honesty of a Chinese merchant is proverbial. His word is his bond. Books and pamphlets breathing a lofty spirit of benevolence, and containing moral maxims and injunctions, the quintessence of the teachings of her philosophers, are distributed broadcast among the people. Edition after edition of such pamphlets as *Kanying Peen* (or "Book of Rewards and Punishment") and *Yinchih Wan* ("Book of Secret Blessings") come out of the local presses at the demand of well-to-do philanthropists who take measures to disseminate copies among people who are too poor to buy them.*

Politico-ethical system of the Chinese.

Since the third stage of the first epoch, benevolence has been the keynote of Chinese ethics. As early as B.C. 2435, the Emperor Kuh is reported to have taught, that no virtue is higher than to love all men, and there is no

* The following are some of the rules and maxims taken from the 'Book of Rewards and Punishments':—"Be humane to animals." "Do no injury either to insects, plants or trees." "Pity the misfortunes of others." "Rejoice in the well-being of others." "Help them who are in want." "Do not expose the faults of others." "Don't give way to cruelty, killing and wounding." "Don't murmur against Heaven at your lot, nor accuse men." "A good man is virtuous in his words, looks and actions." "Among the teachings of the 'Book of Secret Blessings' are: "Be upright and straightforward, and renew your heart. Be compassionate and loving.....Publish abroad lessons for the improvement of mankind, and devote your wealth to the good of your fellow-men."

loftier aim in government than to profit all men.* Confucius taught, "what you do not want done to yourself do not do to others," and Laotsze, like Gautama Buddha, and Jesus Christ five hundred years after them, enunciated the golden rule of social morality: "Recompense evil with good." The good of the people has been recognised as the sole *raison d'être* of a government ever since the first epoch. According to Confucius and other Chinese thinkers, a King is the Son of Heaven, but only so long as he governs on right principles for the good of his subjects. These principles have been defined, and the measures by which they are to be carried out formulated. Asked what should be done for the people, Confucius replied, "Enrich them," and asked what more should be done for them he answered, "Teach them." The requisites of government are given in the *Shooking*—"Food, trade, the maintenance of the appointed sacrifices, the Ministry of Works, the Ministry of Instruction, the Ministry of Crime, arrangements for the entertainment of guests from afar, and provision for the support of the army." "Nothing has done more," observes Prof. Douglas, "to maintain the existing order of things than the old doctrine he (Confucius) enforced, that sovereigns were placed on the throne by heaven, and that their right to the sceptre lasted only as long as they walked in

* Douglas, "Confucianism and Taouism," p. 132.

the heavenly path, and obeyed the heavenly decrees. The departure from virtue was the signal for their condemnation, and absolved their subjects from the duty of obedience. He thus implied the right, which Mencius openly claimed, of rebellion against impious rulers. Nor has this right been allowed to remain a dead letter. Upwards of thirty times have there been changes of dynasty since the days of Confucius, and on each occasion the revolution has been justified by references to the teachings of the sage and his great follower Mencius."

Worship of sages in China.

Wealth has never formed the criterion of social rank in China. With the single exception of India there is no other country where virtue and wisdom have been held in such esteem and reverence by the people. The worship of the sages, Buddha, Confucius and Laotsze, forms an important part of the religion of the Chinese. Ever since the third century B.C. the worship of Confucius has been as universal as the study of his works. The most important of the numerous temples dedicated to him is that adjoining his tomb in Shantung. It contains a tablet with the simple inscription—"The most holy prescient sage Confucius—His spirit's resting place." In the provinces there are some 1500 temples dedicated to the worship of Confucius, and with him are associated his distinguished followers, Mang (Mencius), Yen, Tsang, and Tsesze. The emperor goes in state twice a year to the temple

in Shantung "and having twice knelt and six times bowed his head to the earth, invokes the presence of the sage in these words: 'Great art thou, O perfect sage! Thy virtue is full; thy doctrine is complete. Among mortal men there has not been thine equal. All kings honour thee. Thy statutes and laws have come gloriously down. Thou art the pattern of this imperial school. Reverently have the sacrificial vessels been sent out. Full of awe we sound our drums and bells."

Absence of militarism in China.

Ever since the first epoch China has been free from militarism. The profession of the soldier has ever been despised in China. He is placed last in her scale of social usefulness. She has never made a hero of any man whose sole title to distinction is success in warfare. The emperor of China is probably the only ruler in the world who never wears a sword.

Vitality of Chinese civilization.

Paradoxical as the statement may appear to some, it was not her military strength, but her ethical elevation, not her material development, but the harmony which she was able to bring about between it, and her moral development at an early period of her history that has enabled China to preserve the integrity of her civilization. The Chinese have been subjected to repeated invasions from outside. But, such is their moral vitality, that though often conquered physically, they have never been subjugated mentally. They have invariably succeeded *in incor-*

porating the foreigners with their own social organisation. It is owing to her moral force that China has displayed such a marvellous capacity of absorbing all foreign elements into the substance of her civilization, and has thus insured its stability. Tartars, Mongols, or Manchus, these foreign invaders after a time became Chinese to all intents and purposes. They all adopted the Chinese language, institutions and ideals, and became ardent worshippers of Confucius and other Chinese worthies.

Moral vitality of Hindu civilization.

It is their ethical development which enabled the Hindus also to integrate the foreign elements into their system of civilization, and thus place it on a stable basis. It is when India reached the third stage that the racial cleavage between the Aryans and the non-Aryans began to disappear, and they were gradually fused into one race, known in history as the Hindu, inspired by the same ideals and worshipping the same gods and goddesses. While in the third stage India suffered repeated invasions from outside, by the Greeks,* the Parthians, the Scythians and the Huns, who succeeded in establishing their authority in various parts of the

* In regard to Hellenistic influence upon India, Mr. V.A. Smith comes to the conclusion, that "the invasions of Alexander, Antiochus the Great, Demetrius, Eukratides and Menander were in fact, whatever their authors may have intended, merely military incursions which left no appreciable mark upon the institutions of India."

("Early History of India," p. 213).

country. Sooner or later, however, they were either expelled or became Hinduised, adopting the Hindu religion, the Hindu literature and the Hindu institutions. The Greek Menander who had his capital at Kabul (about the middle of the second century B.C.) became a convert to Buddhism and has been immortalised under the name of Milinda in the celebrated Buddhist work entitled "The Questions of Milinda." The Scythian (Kushan) Kadphisis II was an ardent votary of Siva, and his successors, Kanishka and his son Hushka, were enthusiastic followers of Buddhism. The Pallavas of Parthian origin, who for four centuries were the premier power in southern India, were completely Hinduised, and Kanchi (Conjeveram) has since their time been one of the most important strongholds of Hinduism. The Sáka (Scythian) Satraps of Suráshtra (Kathiáwar) adopted either the Brahmanical or the Buddhist cult of Hinduism.*

Why Hindus lost their political independence.

The Hindus like the Chinese have ever since the third stage in the second epoch been pervaded but little by the military and the predatory spirit. Benevolence has always been with them one of the cardinal

* "In some respects," observes Mr. Vincent A. Smith, "Buddhism in its Mahâyâna form was better fitted than the Brahminical system to attract the reverence of the casteless foreign chieftains; and it would not be unreasonable to expect that they should have shown a decided tendency to favour Buddhism rather than Brahmanism, but the facts do not indicate a clearly marked general preference for the Buddhist creed on the part of the foreigners." ("Early History of India," pp. 264-65).

virtues. As in China, so in India, wealth never formed the basis of social rank, wisdom and virtue were held in the highest esteem, and there was perfect freedom of thought. In neither country were leaders of thought persecuted as they were in Greece. But India differed from China in two important points. Indian thinkers were as markedly idealistic and otherworldly, as the Chinese were realistic and this-worldly. The former loved to live in retirement in the seclusion of hermitages taking but little interest in politics and in mundane affairs generally and elaborating systems of philosophy, which in respect of sublimity and depth of thought still remain unsurpassed, but the general tendency of which was to foster quietism and indifference to material development. The other noteworthy point in which the Hindus differed from the Chinese was their caste-system. In the beginning it was flexible enough to permit the admission of the lower into the upper classes. But it attained such rigidity towards the end of the third stage that the fissures between the different classes became almost impassable. It was mainly owing to their idealistic temperament and the caste-system, that the Hindus lost their political independence. The fighting caste, the Rajputs, fought and fought bravely against the Moslem aggressors. No disgrace rankled more in their breasts than the disgrace of a defeat in battle. Rather than surrender they often died sword in hand. The Rajputs resisted, and resisted with all their might,

but they never secured the co-operation of the mass of the people who considered the maintenance of government the business of the fighting caste with which they had no concern. As soon as the King and his army were defeated, there was an end of all opposition.

Why Hindu civilization survived the loss of political independence.

But the civilization of the Hindus survived the loss of their political independence; and the survival is attributable to their moral and spiritual culture which inspired them with sufficient courage to resist their conversion either by the sword or the allurements of material advancement. Hindu culture not only presented an impenetrable front of opposition to the disintegrating influences of Mahomedan invasion, but also in course of time captured the Moslem mind and largely influenced Moslem culture and Moslem administration. We have already referred to the extent to which the Saracens were indebted to India for their medicine, arithmetic, algebra, and chemistry.

Hindu influence upon Mahomedans.

Settled in India the Mahomedans by degrees became partially Hinduised. The zeal for the propagation of Islam abated. The blind bigotry of the Moslem was gradually tempered by the philosophic culture of the Hindu, and Hindu influence on the religion and government of the Moslem gradually became more and more marked.

The brightest period of the Mahomedan Empire was unquestionably the period between the accession of Akbar and the deposition of Shah Jehan, and it was during that period that the Hindu influence was the strongest. Akbar and his most cultured Mahomedan courtiers—the brothers Faizi and Abul Fazl,—were greatly under Hindu influence. Abul Fazl, in fact, was held by some of his contemporaries to be a Hindu.* Akbar held the Hindu belief that it was wrong to kill cows and interdicted the use of beef.† Two of Akbar's wives were Hindus; and Jehangir was the son of one of them. Jehangir had ten wives, of whom no less than six were of Hindu descent. Shah Jehan was the offspring of one of these.‡ He had more of Hindu than of Mahomedan blood in him. It is said of Akbar that from his youth he was accustomed to perform the *Hom* (a Hindu ceremony) from his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his harem. These princesses gained so great an ascendency over him, that he foreswore not only beef, but also garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard. "He had also introduced," says the orthodox Badaoni "though modified by his pecular views, Hindu customs and heresies into the court assemblies, and introduces them still in order

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 27.

† The Emperor Nasiruddin forbade the killing of oxen. Ferishta speaks of him as practising idolatry like the Hindus, so that the Koran was occasionally placed as a stool and sat upon.

‡ *Ain-i-Akbari*, pp. 308-309.

to please and gain the goodwill of the Hindus." Raja Bir Bal is said by some historians to have influenced Akbar in abjuring Islam. Bir Bal was the special favourite of Akbar. Badaoni says, "His Majesty mourned for the death of no grandee more than for that of Bir Bal." The jealously which the pro-Hindu policy of Akbar excited amongst bigoted Moslims was intense, and finds expression in the writings of orthodox Mahomedan writers like Badaoni.* The Hindu Man Sing, Todar Mall and Bir Bal, and the practically Hinduised Abul Fazl and Faizi were amongst the most, if not the most trusted of Akbar's councillors. They probably contributed more to build up the Mogul Empire on a sound basis of liberal and enlightened policy than all the other officers of Akbar put together.

The pro-Hindu policy of Akbar was continued by Jehangir and Shah Jehan. The contest between Dara and Aurangzeb was really a contest between en-

* Says Badaoni :—

"As it was quite customary in those days to speak ill of the doctrines and orders of the Koran, and as Hindu wretches and Hinduising Mahomedans openly reviled our Prophet, irreligious writers omitted in the prefaces to their books the customary praise of the Prophet..... It was impossible even to mention the name of the Prophet, because these liars (Abul Fazl and Faizi) did not like it.

"The Hindus, of course, are indispensable ; to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Hindustanies (Mahomedans settled in Hindustan) nor the Moguls can point to such grand lords as the Hindus have among themselves."

lightenment and bigotry, between a pro-Hindu and an anti-Hindu policy. Dara belonged to the school of Akbar. He wrote a book attempting to reconcile the Hindu and Mahomedan doctrines. He had translations made of fifty *Upanishads* into Persian. Like Akbar, he was considered an apostate. He is said to have been constantly in the society of Bráhman Jogis and Sanyasis, and to have considered the Vedas as the word of God. Instead of the Mahomedan, he adopted the Hindu name (*Prabhu*) for God, and had it engraved in Hindi upon rings: "It became manifest," says the author of Alamgir-nama, "that if Dara Suko obtained the throne and established his power, the foundations of the faith would be in danger."* Aurangzeb was a bigot such as orthodox Mahomedans had long been looking for; they advocated his cause, as the Hindus did that of his elder brother. The cause of orthodox Islam triumphed. But the triumph was only temporary ending with the reign of Aurangzeb.

The Hindus did not sink into political nonentity even in those parts which directly owned Mahomedan sway. They were admitted into situations of trust and responsibility. They commanded armies, governed kingdoms, and acted as ministers under Mahomedan kings. Under Akbar, one Hindu (Todar Mal) occupied the high post of Minister of Finance, another (Man Sing) was raised to a distinction (commander of seven

* Elliott's History, Vol. VII. p. 179.

thousand) which up to his time had been reserved only for Princes of the royal blood.*

* For further details, see the author's "Essays and Lectures," pp. 170—72. Ibrahim, the fourth king of Golconda, had Jagadeo, a Hindu for his prime-minister. Mahomed Shah Sur Adil, who occupied the throne of Delhi about the middle of the sixteenth century, committed the conduct of his Government to one "Hemu, a Hindu who had once kept a retail shop, and whose appearance is said to have been meaner than his origin. Yet with all these external disadvantages, Hemu had abilities and force of mind sufficient to maintain his ascendancy amidst a proud and martial nobility, and to prevent the dissolution of Government, weighed down as it was by the follies and iniquities of its head." Elphinstone's History of India. Cowell's Ed., pp. 460-3.

During the reigns of the Emperors Feroksir, Rafi-ud-Darját, Rafi-ud-Doula, and part of the reign of Mahomed Shah, Rattan Chand, formerly a retail shop-keeper, enjoyed uncontrolled influence all over Hindustan. He was Deputy to Abdulla Khan, Vizier of the Empire. It was through his influence and that of Raja Ajit, that the poll-tax upon the Hindus, re-established by Aurangzeb, was abolished. "He interfered," complains the Mahomedan historian, "even in judicial and religious concerns, in a way that reduced the crown officers to the condition of ciphers. It was impossible to become a Kazi of any city, without the consent of this Hindu being previously taken." *Siar-ul-Mutakharin* (Briggs' Translation), pp. 89, &c.

When Alivardi Khan became prime-minister of Súja Khan, he called to his councils Raja Aalem Chand and Jagat Set, the former of whom, says Golam Hassein Khan, "possessed great merit, and deserved all the confidence reposed in him." When Alivardi Khan became Governor of Bengal, he appointed as his prime-minister Jánakíram, who was a man of merit, and figured among the trustiest and most zealous of the Viceroy's friends. Mohanlála was the minister of Surája-ud-Dewla, Governor of Bengal; amongst his other officers who held positions of trust, were Durlavrám and Rámnáráyan.

Maintenance of the equilibrium of Hindu civilization since the second epoch.

The Mahomedan conquest did not seriously affect Hindu civilization. During the Mahomedan period it was maintained at the level which it had attained during the third stage. Sanskrit learning was kept up at such places as Benares and Nadiya. If Sanskrit literature suffered a little for want of patronage the loss was more than compensated by the marvellous expansion of the vernacular literatures. The loss was felt only by a few cultivated Bráhmans, the gain was shared in by the great mass of the people. Writers in the vernaculars, such as Eknáth and Tukárám in Maháráshtra and Sur Dás and Tulsi Dás in Northern India drew upon the rich store-house of Sanskrit literature and popularised the teachings of Hindu sages; and great religious teachers and reformers such as Rámánanda, Kabir, Nának and Chaitanya sustained the ethical and spiritual life of the people. The material condition of the people was no worse than in pre-Mahomedan times. The artisans were certainly more prosperous than in any previous period. This prosperity was due partly to increased commerce with Europe, and partly to the taste for luxuries created by the Mahomedans. Europeans who travelled in India between the 15th and 18th centuries all testify to the superiority of Indian over European manufactures and to the high degree of material prosperity enjoyed by the Indians.*

* For details see H. Murray's "Discoveries and Travels," and the

Maintenance of equilibrium essential for the survival of civilization.

The evidence we have adduced above shows, that the two civilizations which have survived to the present day agree in the fact, that their material element was subordinated to the ethical, and that the civilizations which have perished agree in the fact, that their material development was disproportionately greater than the ethical. The cases especially of survival are no doubt too few to justify safe generalisation. The sociologists of the future epochs will no doubt have a larger number of cases to draw conclusions from. In the meantime, the facts at our command, I think, justify us in concluding that the survival of a civilization depends upon its attainment of equilibrium between the forces making for material progress and those leading to ethical development. From the two cases of long-lived civilizations we have considered above, it would appear that after the attainment of this equipoise, further extension of life depends upon its maintenance. The equipoised condition is being constantly disturbed by various causes of which the animal tendencies of man are the most important,—tendencies which lead him to think more of the outer than of the inner life. As in every community, however civilized, there must be numerical preponderance of individuals in the first or the material stage of progress, a slight diminution of the influence exerted by the

author's "History of Hindu Civilization during British Rule," Vol. I, Introduction, pp. lxxii—lxxviii.

small class composed of the wise and the good results in their gaining the upper hand, and thus ensues moral degeneration. The *rôle* of the great men of China ever since she reached the third stage in the first epoch has been not to strike out new paths but to bring back their community to the equipoised condition reached during that stage. Confucius always professed to be a transmitter.* He trod in the footsteps of the great and good Yaou, Shun and others who had adorned the third stage of the Chinese civilization during the first epoch (about B.C. 2356-2000). The mantle of Confucius fell on Mencius who sought only to perpetuate the doctrines of his great master. Chinese ideals of life have not appreciably varied ever since the days of Yaou and Shun. Similarly in India her great men since the close of the third stage of her civilization, from Sankaráchárya and Rámánuja down to Rámmohan Ráya and Dayánanda Sarasvati have had no new message to deliver. Their function has been only to bring back the people to the old paths of ethical and spiritual development when they had strayed far from them. The mobility of the Chinese and Hindu civilizations ever since they reached the third stage has been restricted to the restoration of the equilibrium attained during that stage. That equilibrium has of late been violently disturbed by the impact

* "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients," was Confucius' description of himself.

of the Western civilization, and it remains to be seen whether the Chinese and the Hindu civilizations have sufficient vitality and recuperative power to restore it.

Importance of intellectual culture in the survival of civilization.

Intellectual culture is of supreme importance in the survival of a civilization. If we have not made special mention of it above, it is because such culture is implied in real ethical and spiritual development. In our view of the evolution of civilization, such development presupposes antecedent intellectual development, the ethical stage being preceded by the intellectual. The introduction of high ethical ideals among peoples not sufficiently advanced intellectually to receive them does far more harm than good. During the "Middle Age", there was no country in Europe which took such a prominent part in that horrible system of persecution, the Inquisition, as Spain; and there was no country which was so earnestly and sincerely "Christian" as Spain, but at a time when she was not intellectually prepared for the grand ideals of the noble religion preached by Jesus Christ. The most enthusiatic and fanatical among the Saracens, brutally cruel because brutally ignorant, were no doubt moved by a desire for doing good to the unbelievers when they tried to convert these at the point of the sword.

There is good deal of truth in the dictum of Socrates that "knowledge is virtue." The sages of India all taught, that the path of knowledge is the most commendable of all the paths to salvation, if indeed,

as according to some, it is not the only way. The noble eight fold path prescribed by Buddha consists of eight principles—*right* belief, *right* aims, *right* speech, *right* action, *right* means of livelihood, *right* endeavour, *right* mindfulness, *right* meditation, and Reason is our only guide in judging what is right and what is wrong. The Chinese thinkers were equally alive to the importance of knowledge as the surest foundation on which to establish the will. "At fifteen", said Confucius, "my mind was bent on learning. At thirty I stood firm. At forty I had no doubts. At fifty I knew the decrees of Heaven. And at seventy I could follow what my heart desired without transgressing what was right." Confucius taught that "true knowledge should enable a man to distinguish between truth and falsehood, and to assimilate all that is good, and to discard all that is evil, in that which he learns. More than this, however, is required by him: he must love the truth as well as know it, and must delight in it as well as love it."*

The conclusions to which we have been led in this Chapter are as follows :—

Summary and general observations.

First.—Civilizations in which the material element prevails over the ethical, are of an ephemeral character. They are like magnificent fabrics built upon quicksand, bound to give way sooner or later.

* Douglas: "Confucianism and Taouism," p. 96.

Secondly.—The survival of a civilization depends upon its attainment of an equipoised condition between the cosmic forces making for material progress and the non-cosmic forces leading to higher culture (especially ethical culture).

Thirdly.—That the life of a civilization after it has passed from one epoch to a later one depends upon the maintenance of this equipoise.

It follows as a corollary from these conclusions, that military, political, and economic activities are of less significance in the life of a nation than high cultural activities.

These conclusions would appear to run counter to the prevailing Western conception of social efficiency which posits strife and competition to be its only essential condition. There can be no doubt that this condition is imperative for animal efficiency and therefore for material advancement which is the distinctive feature of the first stage of civilization. The law of the "struggle for existence and survival of the fittest" governs the animal kingdom, and man so far as he is an animal is unquestionably subject to it. But so far as his moral and spiritual faculties which differentiate him from animals are concerned, their development is subject to laws of which we have no clear conception now but which are altogether different from those obtaining in the case of other animals. In as much as such development is essential for the survival of a civilization, and it is fostered by what

Herbert Spencer calls the "religion of amity" in contradistinction to the "religion of enmity," it is obvious, that the main condition of social efficiency is not perpetual strife, but rather a cessation of such strife, not physical but psychical strength, not the military and predatory spirit, but righteousness and benevolence.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST EPOCH.

[Circ. 5000 B.C.—Circ. 2000 B.C.]

SECTION I.—EGYPT.

Ethnic affinities.

The earliest civilizations appeared in Egypt, Chaldæa and China. Egyptologists are not yet agreed as to the ethnic affinities of the Egyptians. In its grammatical structure the Egyptian language is distinctly Semitic and many of its roots are common to the Semitic languages. On the other hand, Dr. Brugsch has detected in it a strong affinity to the Indo-Germanic Languages. The same composite character is evidenced by the Egyptian religion. All Semitic religions are theocratic. The idea underlying the Semitic conception of the relation between God and man is that of absolute subjection. The relation is as one between the all powerful Lord and Master

(El, the "mighty," *Báal*, Bel) and his slave. It is one of aloofness and inspired fear. The Aryan idea of the relation between God and man, on the other hand, was essentially theanthropic. It was as one between father and children and inspired love. The Egyptian religion is neither theocratic like the Semitic, nor theanthropic like the Aryan, but partakes of the character of both. On the oldest monuments the Egyptians are represented as a red or dusky race with features referable neither to the Caucasian nor to the Nigritian type.

Influence of the aborigines.

Whatever may have been the racial affinities of the founders of the civilization of Egypt, it is certain that they found the country and the adjacent lands already occupied. There were such aboriginal tribes as the Háa—Nebu who inhabited the Northern delta, and the Menti who dwelt near the first cataract of the Nile. As early as the time of the Pyramids, the Nubians, who were mostly Negroes, were employed as mercenary troops, and the Libyans occupied a large area on the north-western frontier. That the aboriginal contact to some extent affected the civilization of the conquering immigrants there can be no doubt. It is highly probable that the strange honours paid to such animals as crocodiles, cats, serpents &c., were due to the influence of the Nigritian aborigines. The Egyptians had a large number of local deities like Amon of Thebes and Neit of Sais, some at least of whom have

been surmised by archæologists to have been of African origin. Amon rose into importance with Thebes and became at one time the chief god of the Egyptian Pantheon.

The Egyptian religion, according to some Egyptologists, has a monotheistic foundation. With them as with the Babylonians, "Nu," the "Expanse of the Heavens," stands at the head of the entire system of deities, and the Egyptian word "Nutra," a god, is derived from "Nut," the sky. The monotheistic idea was in all probability brought by the immigrants with them. Theoretically, the Egyptian priests believed in one only God, immutable, eternal—"Nuk-pu-Nuk," "I am that am" as the papyrus has it,—"He that lives in spirit, sole generating force in heaven or earth, that was not begotten." The vast system of therianthropic polytheism which arose subsequently was probably due in a large measure to aboriginal influence.

Psychical factor of Egyptian civilization.

The immigrants do not appear to have been influenced by the aborigines, at least to any large extent, in any other way. They brought the psychic impulse for civilization with them. Egypt has been described as the "gift of the Nile." But the Nile did not become a fertilising river until it had been controlled by gigantic engineering works by Mena or Menes (about 4777 B.C.), the first Pharaoh of whom we possess any authentic account. Herodotus thus relates the

tradition current in his time in regard to these works:

"The priests stated that Mena, the first that ever ruled over Egypt, threw up in the first place the dyke that protects Memphis, for previously the whole of the stream flowed along the sand-covered mountain ridge fronting Libya; but Mena beginning about one hundred stadia above Memphis filled in the elbow made by the Nile to the South: and thus not only exhausted the old bed, but formed also a canal by which the river was made to flow in the mid-space between the mountains. Even at the present day this ancient elbow, repelling the Nile in his course, is attended to and watched with great care by the Persians and fortified every year with additional works, for should the river rise over and burst this dyke, the whole of Memphis would be exposed to the danger of being swept away." "This ancient work is still maintained with the same care by English Engineers; like other great engineering works on the Nile it serves a double purpose, for it both protects certain lowlying lands from flood, and gives facilities for directing the water into reservoirs and channels which may be used for irrigation."*

Physical factors.

The physical features influenced the character of the Egyptian civilization to some extent. Protected by the sea on the northern and eastern sides and girdled by mountains and deserts on the western and southern frontiers, Egypt had but little to dread from foreign invasions. The soil fertilised by the waters of the Nile yielded sufficient food and materials for clothing (flax and cotton) for the entire population. The mountains supplied excellent stones for buildings,

* Cunningham, "Western Civilization," Vol. I., pp. 11-12.

and the Nile formed a good water-way for their transport. Thus Egypt was to a very great extent self-sufficing and independent of foreign trade ; and for a long time she led an isolated life. The Egyptians never became a commercial nation. Previous to the seventh century B. C. they had but little intercourse with foreigners. It is not known exactly whence the Egyptians got their supplies of tin and iron. But gold is believed to have been found within Egypt itself, and it was also obtained from Nubia. The Pharaohs early took possession of the Sinai peninsula whence they procured their supplies of copper. Thus Egypt being to a very large extent a self-contained country, her resources were developed to the fullest extent. The Egyptians carried the manufacture of linen to a high state of perfection. They also made considerable advance in various other manufactures, such as, pottery, dyeing, shoe-making, enamelling, glass-making and metal-work.

The first or artistic stage of Egyptian civilization was very strongly represented. It covers a period of about fifteen hundred years from the time of Mena to the close of the eleventh dynasty about 3450 B. C. Art attained its zenith under the fourth dynasty during the age of the pyramid-builders. Flinders Petrie describes the art of the time of Sneferu to be perfect. "Unfortunately" says he, "we have no examples definitely dated to

The first stage (circ. B.C. 5000—circ. B.C. 3450).

the rise of this art, but we can see the remains of its archaic period in the portrait of Queen Mertitefs. The careful working of detail separately, without treating it as part of a whole to be blended together, is the essential mark of archaism. The well-known head of Nefert must, again, appear as the earliest figure of the pyramid age which is perfectly free in execution. An example of the relief sculpture is shown in the vigorous design of the boatman."*

Khufu, better known as Cheops, the successor of Sneferu, was the builder of the great pyramid at Gizeh. This greatest of the world's monuments rests on a base of 746 feet and rises to a height of 450 feet.

The first and the most brilliant period of Egyptian art did not last very long. It almost ended with the fourth dynasty. The decline began in the fifth dynasty and continued to the end of the first epoch. Architecture "rose to its greatest accuracy of work and boldest handling of immense masses, in the generation which saw the statue of Nefert; and from that point there was continuous decline. The buildings were less in size and inferior in work until in the sixth dynasty, the masses of the pyramids were merely of loose rubble." †

* I have followed Flinders Petrie and Mariette in the dates given in the text. There is a difference of about a thousand years between them and those given by Lepsius.

† "Revolutions of Civilization," pp. 21-22.

The second and third stages (circ. B.C. 3450—circ. B.C. 2000.)

The Egyptian civilization attained the second and third stages in the time of the "Intermediate," "Middle" or Theban Empire. Compared to the first, these stages were feebly developed, and we have no data to separate them. From the very first the culture of Egypt was expressed by the shaping arts. The researches of archæologists have revealed several waves in the long history of Egyptian civilization, but they were chiefly waves of the rise and decadence of these arts. The warm dry climate of Egypt has been highly favourable to the preservation of her works of art. Some of them are nearly as fresh today as they were when they left the artists' chisel. Durability and grandeur are the two great characteristics of the tombs, temples and statues of Egypt. The idea of duration represented by them engendered a respect for the past, and for nearly five thousand years national culture ran along the lines which were laid down in the time of the Pyramid-builders. The immense antiquity of the Egyptian civilization and the air of mystery which shrouded the valley of the Nile inspired occasional visitors from neighbouring lands who were fortunate enough to have a peep into its colossal monuments with a deep sense of awe and reverence which appears to have been disproportionate to the actual influence it existed upon the culture of the West. That Egypt did influence to a considerable extent the art of Greece

is undoubted. But it is doubtful if she had any very large share in inspiring Greek science and philosophy. At any rate, we have no means of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion on the subject. The "House of Books' in the time of the Old (or Memphitic) Empire is described as containing "scientific treatises on medicine, geometry, mathematics, and astronomy." "All these," observes Maspero, "if we had them, would form a library much more precious than that of Alexandria. Unfortunately up to the present, we have been able to collect only insignificant remains of such rich stores. In the tombs here and there have been found fragments of popular songs. The pyramids have furnished almost intact a ritual of the dead which is distinguished by its verbosity, its numerous pious platitudes, and obscure allusions to things of the other world, but among all this trash, there are certain portions full of movement and savage vigour, in which poetic glow and religious emotion reveal their presence in a mass of mythical phraseology."* The proverbs of Ptahtopu are the only notable literary production of the Old or Memphitic Empire. Maspero observes in regard to these : "Ptahtopu writes down his reflections just as they occur to him without formulating them or drawing any conclusions from them as a whole ; knowledge is indispensable to getting on in the world ; hence he recommends knowledge. Gentleness to sub-

* "The Dawn of Civilization," p. 399.

ordinates is politic and shows good education ; hence he praises gentleness."*

Literature, Science and Arts.

The construction of the great dyke above Memphis by Mena was a remarkable feat of engineering skill, and that of the Pyramids in the time of the fourth dynasty proves considerable knowledge of mechanics, geometry and astronomy. That the cultivation of these sciences as well as of metallurgy† and medicine was continued and extended during the earlier part of the Middle Empire is unquestionable. Literature had by that time become "more complicated, more exacting and more difficult to deal with and to master. It had its classical authors whose writings were committed to memory and taught in the schools."‡ The Egyptians regarded the Intermediate Empire as the classic epoch, and the most ancient papyrus rolls date from that period. The national predilection for Art is noticeable in the fact of its revival under the twelfth dynasty after a long interval of decay and degeneration. "The

* Op. cit. p. 400.

† The absence or scarcity of iron made it necessary for the granite used in the monuments to be cut by bronze tools. Their hardening testifies to considerable metallurgical skill.

Considering that the Egyptians had but little knowledge of iron and possessed only the simplest mechanical appliances it is very difficult to explain how they moved the huge blocks used in their buildings, carried them long distances, and placed them in position.

‡ Maspero—"The Struggle of the Nations," p. 494.

sculpture freed itself at the rise of the twelfth dynasty. Painting was certainly free in the figures of the wrestlers at Beni Hassan, late in the reign of Senusert I."* Amenemhat II. constructed the stupendous building which was called Labyrinth by the Greeks. It was in existence at the time of Herodotus who says: "It exceeds all powers of description : for it is such that if we could collect together all the Hellenic edifices, all the works they have wrought, the collection would be evidently inferior as respects the labour employed and the expense incurred. The temple of Ephesus is undoubtedly magnificent, and so is that at Samos ; the Pyramids likewise were noble structures each equal to many of the mighty works achieved by the Hellenes put together, but the Labyrinth beats the Pyramids themselves."

The literary performances of the period compared to its artistic achievements sink into insignificance, though they were unquestionably far in advance of those of the old Empire. "The great odes to the deities which we find in the Theban papyri," says Maspero, "are better fitted, perhaps, than the profane compositions of the period, to give us an idea of the advance which Egyptian genius had made in the width and richness of its modes of expression, while still maintaining almost the same dead level of ideas

* Flinders Petrie—"Revolutions of Civilization," p. 103.

which had characterised it from the outset. Among these one dedicated to Harmachis, the sovereign sun is no longer restricted to a bare enumeration of the acts and virtues of the 'Disk,' but ventures to treat of his daily course and his final triumphs which might have been used in describing the victorious campaigns of a Pharaoh." *

Ethical development.

The ethical development attained during the Intermediated Empire is summed up in the "Book of the Dead" (*) which explains what the soul ought to be able to say when appearing before the tribunal of Osiris in the next world :

"Homage to you, Lords of Truth and Justice ; I acknowledge you to be the Lords of Truth and Justice ! I have brought you the truth, I have put away all lies in your presence, I have never committed any fraud against another, I have never been harsh towards a widow, I have never lied in the tribunal, I have never uttered a falsehood, I have never done a forbidden thing, I never exacted more than a fair day's labour from the overseer of works, I have not been negligent, I have not been idle, I have never been deficient, I have never been a defaulter, I have not done anything to offend the gods, I have never calumnited a slave in the ears of his master, I have not been greedy, I have never caused sorrow to others, I have not committed murder, I have never defrauded anyone, I have never kept back the bread from the temple, I have never extracted the cakes offered to the gods, I have never robbed the dead of their provisions or bandages, I

* The "Struggle of the Nations," p. 496.

(*) The nucleus of the Book of the Dead probably dates from a much earlier period.

have not made fraudulent profits, I have not cheated in measuring the wheat, I have not defrauded one finger from a palm, I have not encroached on the fields of another, I have not made fraudulent profits by means of false weights in the scale, I have not tampered with the equilibrium of the scales, I have not robbed the suckling of his milk, I have never hunted the sacred animals in their pastures, I have not netted the divine birds, I have not fished in the ponds that contain the sacred fish, I have not driven back the water in its season, I have not extinguished the sacred fire in its appointed hour, I have not violated the divine cycle of chosen offerings, I have not driven the oxen from the holy lands, I have not been disrespectful to the god in his procession, I am pure, I am pure, I am pure."

The ideal of morality contained in this extract is a high one. It, however, inculcates beneficence and honesty in a negative form, and the greater portion of the work is occupied with charms and incantations. The Egyptians had not risen to the ideal of the positive, active benevolence and of duty for duty's sake. When the method of salvation is reduced to mere formulæ, as was the case with them, there is invariably a tendency for the external to kill the internal, for matter to overcome the spirit. "In the tombs we find everyone who could pay for a sculptured record characterised as justified, every mummy already an Osiris. How was this determined? Possibly there was a council held which decided that the deceased could be treated as one who was certain of future happiness. It is, however, more probable that the learning of certain prayers and incantations, the performance of ceremonies,

and the whole process of embalming together with the charms attached to the mummy, and prayers said by those who visited the tomb, were held to secure future happiness." *

The Egyptians, however, had made considerable moral progress. Their laws were characterised by humanity. Murder, but not man-slaughter, was punished with death. The same penalty was inflicted for sacrilegious theft; but, for ordinary theft, the punishment was not very severe. Adultery was severely prosecuted. The Egyptians of the Intermediate Empire were not actuated by militarism and the predatory spirit to any very large extent. The Pharaohs were occupied more with internal reforms, the development of the resources of the country by providing facilities for trade, and with works of public utility like the great artificial reservoir called Lake Mœris in the province now known as Fayum. The only notable conquest of the period was that of Nubia under Usertesen III. probably to control the working of its gold mines. He introduced settled government into Nubia and was worshipped there in subsequent times. Egypt had "never been singularly distinguished for her military qualities; not that she was cowardly, and shrunk from facing death, but because she lacked energy and enthusiasm for warlike enterprise." †

* Encyc. Britan. 9th Edition. Vol. VII. p. 719.

† Maspero. "The Passing of the Empires." p. 80.4

The Egyptians appear to have been monogamous. The woman was not secluded, but, on the contrary, appeared as the equal and companion of her husband. She appeared in public rites or private company, had equal rights in the eye of the law and sometimes even served as priest or ascended the throne. The Egyptians were hospitable though not to foreigners. The host and hostess as well as other married people sat together, genereally on single or double chairs. There was no caste-system though occupations were usually hereditary. There was nothing to prevent any member of the lowest class rising to the highest posts under the government. But forced labour and heavy assessment ground down the peasantry and kept them in a condition of abject poverty. The condition, however, was in all probability not so bad during the Middle Empire as during the Old. The feeling of admiration which the great Pyramid excites becomes much mixed when one reflects upon the amount of misery it involved to the cultivators. Herodotus states: "Cheops ordered all the Egyptians to labour in his own service, some of whom he accordingly appointed to the task of dragging the blocks from the quarries in the Arabian mountains to the Nile. Others he stationed to take the said blocks, when brought across the river in vessels, and drag them to the ranges called the Libyan mountains. They were compelled to labour in this manner by one hundred thousand at a time, each party during three months."

Spiritual progress.

Though the Egyptians were as Herodotus says, "the most religious of all men," their spiritual culture was not of a high order. They believed in the immortality of the soul, but had not yet divested themselves of the material idea of it. Hence the unusual care which they took to preserve the dead body. The magnificent tombs which they raised may be regarded as the megalithic monuments of the Neolithic period on a much grander and far more artistic scale. During the time of the Ancient Empire the Egyptians believed that every man had a "double," and that the double survived his death. The tomb was called the "House of the Double." Furniture, food, weapons, books, statues and paintings were placed in it for the service of the dead, as also his likeness in the form of a statue in wood or stone. The conception of the soul which the Egyptians arrived at under the Intermediate Empire was of a more spiritual character. The soul left the body after death and appeared for judgment before the tribunal of Osiris and his forty-two judges. The soul found bad on examination is tormented for centuries and ultimately annihilated. The good soul after some trials is admitted into the company of the gods and is absorbed into them. As we have seen above, however, in practice, the salvation of the soul depended upon the mummification of the corpse, charms, incantations and ceremonies.

Want of equilibrium between material and cultural development.

Judging Egyptian civilization as a whole, we find that the forces which make for intellectual, spiritual and ethical development were much weaker than those which led to material progress, and a stable equilibrium between the two was never attained. Egypt attained the acme of its material prosperity under the Intermediate Empire. There was considerable increase of luxury, great progress in the arts and manufactures which minister to creature comforts. The higher classes had luxurious, elegantly furnished houses, well appointed households with stewards, secretaries and men-servants, and superb conveyances. They gave sumptuous banquets at which a large quantity of liquor was consumed, and had dancing girls to amuse them. The ladies developed a great taste for ornaments, and the use of golden bracelets, necklaces, and chains became common among them. But the mass of the people ground down by high assessment and forced labour were sunk in ignorance and misery. Large bodies of men were harnessed for the transport of the huge stone blocks required for the construction of the magnificent monuments which excite our admiration even at the present day and were driven along with whips. One of the scribes in the service of a Pharaoh writes as follows to a friend: "Have you ever pictured to yourself the existence of the peasant who tills the soil? The tax collector is on the platform busily seizing the tithe of the harvest. He has his men armed

with staves, his Negroes provided with strips of palm. All cry, 'come, give us grain.' If the peasant hasn't it, they throw him full length on the earth, draw him to the canal and hurl him in head foremost.*

There were no doubt a few priests who pursued philosophy and cultivated the esoteric side of their religion. But they appear to have made but little impression upon the community at large. The intellectual and ethical culture of the Egyptians as reflected in their literature was, as we have seen above, of a poor order. We seek in vain in it for any noble thoughts and lofty ideals, such as we shall see in the next Chapter, the Hindus and the Greeks rose to in the Second Epoch.

SECTION 2.—BABYLONIA.

Was Egyptian civilization derived from the Babylonian?

Sumer or Southern Babylonia and Akkad or Northern Babylonia were two important centres of culture during the First Epoch. In fact, the distinguished archæologist, Hommel, adduces grounds which go to

* "One day," says a French Traveller, "finding himself before the ruins of Thebes, I explained, 'But how did they do all this ?' My guide burst out laughing, touched me on the arm and showing me a palm, said to me, 'Here is what they used to accomplish all this. You know, Sir, with 100,000 branches of palms split on the backs of those who always have their shoulders bare, you can build many a palace and some temples to boot." Seignobos, "History of Ancient Civilization," p. 26.

show that the civilization of Egypt was derived from that of Babylonia:

"As was the case amongst the Babylonians, so we find amongst the Egyptians" says Hommel "that Nu the 'Expanse of the Heavens' stands at the head of the entire system of deities, and that his son, in Egyptian Shu, was the God of Air, and the son of the latter was Keb or Seb, the god of Earth, both of whom, Shu and Seb, had female consorts personifying the Expanse of the Heavens, Tef-Nut and Nut (feminine of Nu). Again, as amongst the Babylonians, it was the case in Egypt that the god of Earth and his consort Nut, the goddess of Heaven, had four children, the two pairs Osiris-Isis, and Set-Nebtháat (Grecised as Nephthys). As Merodach and Nergal in Babylon, so were Osiris and Set in Egypt hostile brothers, namely, the Summer Sun and the Winter Sun; and as Merodach in Babylonia is expressed in writing by the signs for dwelling and eye (the latter as the hieroglyphic for the ram, the symbolic animal of the father of Merodach, *i.e.* of Ea, the god of Earth) so is Osiris, in Egyptian writing, expressed by 'Us' (dwelling) and 'ir' (eye), only the Egyptians had lost the knowledge of the original meaning of this group of signs.....The wellknown legends which have come down to us through Plutarch, long before hieroglyphics were re-deciphered, concerning the victory of the evil god Set over his brother Osiris, the touching lament of Isis over her husband Osiris, and the vengeance taken by the young son Horus for the murder of his father, are all closely connected with this genealogy, and constitute the practical representation of one of Nature's phenomena, exactly like the widespread legend of the god Tamnûz which came to Hither Asia from Babylon. Another legend, derived from Babylonian times, and one which we meet with very frequently in Egyptian literature, especially in the socalled "Book of the Dead" is the combat of Rê, the sun-god with the Dragon, Apep, or the Demon of the clouds, who is the cause of the deluge

(Babyl. Abûbu), an idea which was not quite unknown to the prophets of the old Testament,..... Another conception which is common to both Babylonians and Egyptians is that of the tree of life and a place of rest or island for the repose of the Blissful, the 'fields of Yalu' of the Egyptian texts. Here the Egyptians have even retained the Babylonian name, for Yalu is merely a softer pronunciation of the Babylonian Aralu." *

Dr. Hommel is of the opinion that the most important of the symbols of animals by which the Egyptians deities are represented are derived from ancient Babylon.

"The bull representing both Merodach and Rê'-Osiris, the ram as an emblem of the god Ea as well as of Chnum, the eagle or sparrow-hawk standing both for Nindar and the young Sun-god, Hor, the cow representing Istar and Isis, the jackal Nergal and various gods related to Set, are all figures of animals which are common to both religions." Dr. Hommel thinks "that the Babylonian temple with its seven steps furnished the architectural prototype for the oldest pyramids, which also had seven stages, whilst the Babylonian temples also served the purposes of sepulchral monuments; that the Egyptian pound was derived from the Babylonian silver 'Mina" and the Egyptian ell from the Babylonian ell, which was based upon the length of the second-pendulum; that the elements of Egyptian astronomy point to Babylon; and finally, that numerous Egyptian signs such as the hieroglyphs for life, brother, slave, left side, heaven's boat, to do, night, meadow, Celestial Ocean, all agree in point of shape with their Babylonian equivalents."*

* "Civilization of the East," pp. 39—41.

* Op. cit., pp. 42-43.

Probable Synchronism of Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations.

If Dr. Hommel is right in his view, the civilization of Babylonia would be older than that of Egypt. Unfortunately, the earliest date which has as yet been definitely ascertained is that of Sargon of Akkad and his son Naramsin (about 3800 B.C.). But the thickness of the debris underlying the pavement in which bricks stamped with the names of these kings have been found, has been estimated to represent a period of about 3,000 years. This would carry back the date of the dawn of civilization in Akkad to about 6,800 B.C. The civilization of Egypt at the time of Mena (about 4777 B.C.) was so well developed, that a previous development of one or two centuries may be safely presumed. The dawn of civilization in Egypt and Akkad would thus be nearly synchronous.

Sumerian culture older than the Akkadian.

There is evidence to show, that the culture of Sumer was older than that of Akkad. The language of the Sumerians was considered as sacred in Babylonia down to the latest period. All the older inscriptions are in the same language; and the earlier kings bear Sumerian names. The racial affinities of the Sumerians have not yet been definitely ascertained. All that is known is that they originally differed from the Semitic population of Akkad. The process of fusion between the two races, however, commenced at such an early date, "that nothing has come down to us from the time the two races were strangers to each other,.....we must

take and judge them as they come before us as forming one single nation."*

Second and third stages of Babylonian Civilization (Circ. B.C. 3750—Circ. B.C. 2100.)

We have no data to divide the civilization of Babylonia into distinct stages. All that can be said is, that she attained her highest development during the first Epoch at about the same time as Egypt, between the time of Sargon (about 3,750 B.C.) and that of Khamurabi (about 2,100 B.C.). Babylonian art had attained a high degree of excellence in the time of Sargon and his son, Naramsin. "A finely executed bas-relief, representing Naram-sin, and bearing a striking resemblance to early Egyptian art in many of its features, has been found at Diarbekir..... .....two seal cylinders of the time of Sargon are among the most beautiful specimens of the gem-cutter's art ever discovered. The empire was bound together by roads, along which there was a regular postal service, and clay seals, which took the place of stamps, are now in the Louvre bearing the names of Sargon and his son. A cadastral survey seems also to have been instituted. .....It is probable that the first collection of astronomical observations and terrestrial omens was made for a library established by Sargon."†

* Maspero: "The Dawn of Civilization." p. 551.

† Encycl. Britan. 9th Edition. (New Volumes), Vol. XXV., p. 42.

Ethical development.

A large number of contract tablets of the time of Khamurabi and other kings of the dynasty, and autograph letters of the kings, have recently been discovered which throw a flood of light on the culture of the period and indicate a high degree of ethical and intellectual development. The woman, as in Egypt, was on an equal footing with the man. "She could carry on business on her own account, could inherit and bequeath property, could hold civil offices, and plead in a court of justice. Polygamy seems to have been rare; and we hear of a case in which it is stipulated that if the husband marries a second wife the dowry of the first wife shall be returned to her, and she shall be free to go where she chooses. Slaves were protected by law, and they, too, could acquire property of their own under certain conditions, and appear as witnesses in courts. The use of torture for extorting confessions was unknown. The judges, who were appointed by the crown, decided according to the evidence brought before them. There were pleadings and counter pleadings, and we hear of punishment for perjury. Babylonia was pre-eminently an industrial and commercial state, carrying on commerce with all parts of the known world, and there was, therefore, a highly elaborate commercial code of law. The decisions of the judges were largely ruled by precedents, which necessitated a careful registration of former verdicts, as well as an accurate system of dating. Education

was wide-spread, and involved a study of the extinct language of Sumer. Women, as well as men, could read and write, and letters passed to and fro between all classes of the community. Mathematics were fairly advanced; eclipses of the sun and moon could be foretold, and the Zodiac was a Babylonian invention. .....There were no castes. Each man was free to follow what profession he chose."*

* Encycl. Britan. 9th Edition (New Volumes). Vol. XXVI., p. 47.

CHAPTER V.

THE SECOND EPOCH.

[Circ. 2000 B.C. to Circ. 700 A.D.]

SECTION I—INDIA.

A.—The First Stage.

[Circ. 2000 B.C. to Circ. 1000 B.C.]

Records of culture.

The three stages of civilization were typically developed in India during the Second Epoch. The first stage covered a period of nearly one thousand years from about 2000 B.C. to about 1000 B.C. The Indo-Aryans of the time did not distinguish themselves in the shaping Arts like the Egyptians and the Babylonians. We have no sculptures, paintings, or monuments of the period. But the Indo-Aryans had developed their language (the Sanskrit) to a remarkable extent,

and they have left a vast literature which enables us to judge of their social and cultural condition far better than statues or bas-reliefs. The magnificent collection of hymns known as the Rigveda* presents a vivid picture of that condition during the earlier portion of the first stage, and the later Vedic literature† and the great epics, the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata,‡ for the subsequent portion.

Militarism.

The Indo-Aryans during the first stage were largely dominated by the military and predatory spirit. The gods are constantly invoked to destroy the aboriginal tribes who opposed their advance and whom they contemptuously styled "black-skinned" Dasyus or Dásas (robbers) and Rákshasas (evil spirits.) The following are a few extracts which illustrate their attitude towards the indigenes :

" O Asvins ! destroy those who are yelling hideously like dogs and are coming to destroy us ! Slay those who wish to fight

* The Rigveda consists of 1028 hymns comprising over 10,000 verses. They are divided into ten Mandalas or Books. The hymns of the first Book were composed by 15 Rishis (seers or bards) and those of the tenth book are mostly ascribed to fictitious authors. Each of the remaining eight books is ascribed to one Rishi. The hymns were collected and arranged sometime after their composition had ceased, probably about 1400 B.C.

† This literature consists of the three Vedas, the Yajur, the Sáma and the Atharva, and the Brahmanas and the A'ranyakas.

‡ The final redaction of these works was effected at a comparatively late period. But there can be no doubt that they were based upon earlier works and depict the life of an earlier period.

with us! You know the way to destroy them." (R. V. I, 182,4)
"Indra, who is invoked by many and is accompanied by his fleet, companions, has destroyed by his thunderbolt the *Dasyus* and *Simyus* who dwelt on earth, and then he distributed the fields to his white-complexioned friends (Aryans)." (R. V. I, 100, 8.)
"Indra with his weapon, the thunderbolt, and in his vigour, destroyed the towns of the Dasyus, and wandered at his will. O holder of the thunderbolt! be thou cognisant of our hymns, and cast thy weapon against the Dasyu, and increase the vigour and the fame of the Arya."

"O destroyer of foes! collect together the heads of these marauding troops, and crush them with thy wide foot! Thy foot is wide! O Indra! destroy the power of these marauding troops! Throw them into the vile pit—the vast and vile pit!" (I. 133, 2-5.)

"We are surrounded on all sides by Dasyu tribes. They do not perform sacrifices; they do not believe in anything; their rites are different; they are not men! O destroyer of foes! kill them. Destroy the Dása race."

The Indo-Aryans of the Rigvedic Period formed a community of sturdy warriors. They had not only to fight with their natural enemies, the aboriginal tribes, but they also fought among themselves. Physical prowess was held in the highest estimation. The heroic exploits of a great military chief, Sudás, are celebrated in a number of hymns. Cogent reasons have recently been urged to show, that some of the Vedic gods were only deified warrior-heroes.* The

* The Pitris, Vivasván, Mátaricva, Yama, Vishnu and Trita are included among the hero-Gods by the Vedic scholar, A.C. Sen (*Research and Review* Vol. I, pp. 1 and 2, and "Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. V. No. 4, April, 1900.)

sages who composed the hymns of the Rigveda often prayed to the gods for prowess to vanquish their foes, or for sons who would be victorious in battles. The main theme of the famous epic Mahábhárata, is a disastrous civil war in which all kings of note at the time were engaged, and the death-roll in which was so heavy, that it seriously crippled, if not absolutely ruined, many a princely family. The barbarities committed during that war do not consist with an advanced stage of civilization. One valiant chief not only cut off the head of his antagonist, but is represented as drinking his blood also! Physical strength was esteemed much more highly than intellectual or moral worth. It was such strength more than any other qualification which determined high born ladies in the choice of their husbands.

Material character of the civilization.

Civilization was essentially material. The sages of the Rigveda were not meditative recluses, but practical, gifted men of the world. Not a few of them were warriors as well as priests and bards. The prayers which they offered up were mostly for temporal blessings—the destruction of their enemies, and cattle, rain, health, food and wealth.* They fully appreciated

* The following is one out of numerous passages in the hymns which could be cited.—

"O Pushan, possessed of all wealth, possessed of golden weapons, and chief among beings! bestow on us thy riches.

Lead us so that enemies who intercept may not harm us; lead us by

the good things of the world, especially gifts of cattle and gold from rich donors. One famous priest, Vasishtha, who sang the feats of a mighty chief, Sudás, received as his reward two hundred cows, two chariots, and four horses with gold trappings.*

Vedic Sensualism.

Our Vedic forefathers were full of animal spirits and of the joyousness of youth, and their amusements and enjoyments were more or less of a sensual character—drinking, feasting, singing, dancing. They were very fond of a fermented beverage prepared with the juice of a plant called *Soma*; so much so, that the plant or the drink came to be worshipped as a deity, and one entire Book of the Rigveda is dedicated to it. The exhilarating and intoxicating effects of the Soma liquor are frequently referred to. One of the most consequential of Vedic Divinities, Indra, drank it to such excess, that his stomach used occasionally to get distended. In one of the hymns of the Rigveda, it is said that "the praiseworthy Soma has from ancient times been the drink of the gods; he was milked from the hidden

an easy and pleasant path. O Pushan! devise means (for our safety) on this journey.

Be powerful in thy protection; fill us with riches; bestow on us wealth; make us strong and give us food! O Pushan! devise means (for our safety) on this journey. We do not blame Pushan; but we extol him in our hymns. We solicit wealth from the handsome Pushan (R. V. I, 42)."

* R. V., VII, 22 & 23.

recesses of the sky; he was created for Indra and was extolled." In another, Soma is thus invoked: "O Soma! there is nothing so bright as thou. When poured out, thou welcomest all the gods to bestow on them immortality,"* Elsewhere, Soma is invoked by a votary to lead him to "that realm where there is perennial light, and where the Heaven is placed," "to that deathless and immortal realm."

From the frequent allusions to the sacrifice and the cooking of cows, bulls, and buffaloes, in the earlier Vedic literature, there can be, no doubt that they afforded food to the Indo-Aryans of the Vedic age. Even the flesh of the horse appears to have agreed with their palate, at least during the earlier portion of that age. In one of the Vedic works (the Taittiriya Bráhmana) detailed instructions are given for carving. The slaughter of cattle formed an essential part of several ancient ceremonies such as *Súlagava* or "Spitted cow" (Roast beef), *Gavámanayana* (or the sacrifice of the cow) and the *Madhuparka* (or "honied meal") ceremony, which last was imperative upon a certain class of priests, and upon kings and bridegrooms.†

Dancing is one of the most primitive sources of enjoyment, and is indulged in by all the aboriginal

* R. V., 110, 8; 108, 3.

† For detailed information about the use of flesh food and spirituous liquors in ancient India see Muir's "Sanskrit Texts" (Vol. V. 1884) pp. 463—464 and Rajendralála Mitra's "Indro-Aryans" Vol. I. pp. 354—421.

tribes of India. It also afforded amusement to our Aryan ancestors. In one hymn of the Rigveda, Ushas (Dawn) is described as putting on her gay attire, like a dancer. In another, allusion is made to the "living going forth to dance and to laugh after a funeral."* Dancing was an accomplishment which highborn ladies were expected to acquire. Arjuna (one of Pándava brothers) taught dancing and music to the daughter of the king of Viráta. In the "Harivamsa," there is an interesting description of a dancing party which included such distinguished personages, Krishna, Baladeva, and the sage Nárada. Ladies and gentlemen danced together. "The practice was for each man to have his wife for a partner; those who came without their wives danced with courtezans, but all in the same arena."

"Inflamed by plentiful libations of *kadamba* liquor, Balaráma the majestic, danced in joy with his wife, the daughter of Revata, sweetly beating regular time with his own hands. Beholding this, the damsels, were delighted. The wise and noble Krishna, to enhance the enjoyment of Bala, commenced to dance with his wife, Satyabhámá. The mighty hero Pártha, who had come to this sea-side picnic with great delight, joined Krishna and danced with the slender and lovely Subhadrá (his wife). The wise Gada, Sárana, Pradyumna, Sámba, Sátyaka, the heroic son of the daughter of Sátrajit (Satyabhámá), the handsome Chárudeshna, the heroic princes, Nisata and Ulmuka, the sons of Baladeva, Sankava, the generalissimo of the army of Akrura, and others of the heroic race, danced in joy.....Through the god-like glory of the

* R. V. I, 92, 4.

heroic and most ardent dancers of the Yadu race, the creation smiled in joy.

"The Bráhman sage, Nárada, the revered of the gods, came to the scene for the gratification of Madhusudana, and in the midst of the noble Yádavas began to dance with his matted locks all dishevelled. He became the central figure in the scene, and danced with many a gesticulation and contortion of his body, laughing at Satyabhámá, and Kesava, at Pártha and Subhadrá, at Baladeva, and the worthy daughter of the king of Revata. By mimicking the action of some, the smile of others, the demeanour of a third set, and by similar other means, he set all a-laughing who had hitherto preserved their gravity. For the delectation of Krishna, imitating the mildest little word of his, the sage screamed and laughed so loudly and repeatedly, that none could restrain himself, and tears came to their eyes (from immoderate laughing)."*

Gambling.

Our Indo-Aryan ancestors were very fond of a kind of game played with dice. It was often accompanied by gambling, sometimes of a most reckless character. It was at dice that King Nala gambled away his kingdom, and went into exile with his devoted wife Damayanti. It was also at dice that the sober and virtuous Yudhishthira betted away not only his kingdom, but also his brothers, his own self and even his wife! "O Varuna!" prays one

* Harivamsa quoted in "Indo-Aryáns," Vol. I., pp. 437-438.

Harivamsa was written long after the time of Krishna; and there must be a good amount of poetical licence and exaggeration in the description we have just quoted. But that there is a substratum of fact in it, there can be scarcely any doubt. The Rásalílá has probably preserved the memory of the ancient Hindu fondness for dancing.

of the Rishis of the Rigveda, "all this sin is not wilfully committed by us. Error or wine, anger or dice or even thoughtlessness has begotten sin." Another bard says :—

"These dice that roll upon the board,
To me intense delight afford.
Sweet soma-juice has no more power
To lure me in an evil hour.
• • o o •
As wretched as a worn-out hack's
The gamester's life all joyance lacks.
His means by play away are worn,
While gallants court his wife forlorn.
His father, mother, brothers shout
"The madman bind and drag him out."
At times, the scorn of every friend,
I try my foolish ways to mend,
Resolve no more my means to waste,
On this infatuated taste :
But all in vain :—when, coming near,
The rattle of the dice I hear,
I rush attracted by their charms,
Like lady to her lover's arms.
As to his game the gambler hies,
Once more his hopes of winning rise ;
And loss but more his ardour fires ;
To try his luck he never tires.
The dice their victims hook and tear,
Disturbing, torturing, false though fair."*

* R. V., X. 34, freely translated by Dr. Muir, "Sanskrit Texts" Vol. V. (Third Edition,) pp. 427-28.

Arts and manufactures.

Considerable advance was made in the arts and manufactures during the Vedic period, but not to the extent to which they had been carried by the Egyptians and the Babylonians. We have no descriptions of sumptuously furnished, elegant houses, and of retinues of servants. There are references in the Rigveda to carpentry, weaving, bleaching, and to carriages, gold ornaments, iron and skin utensils and implements of war. The occurrence of the word *Suchi* (needle) and *Sivan* (sewing) would appear to indicate the existence of sewn habiliments in the early Vedic period. Well dressed females, and elegant well made garments are referred to in various passages in the Rigveda. There are a few references to stone-built towns and to mansions with numerous pillars, but none to sculpture or painting. Poetry expressed the culture of the Indo-Aryans during the first stage of their civilization, as sculpture and painting did that of the Egyptians and Babylonians. Some of the hymns read like poems. The following, among others, may be cited :—

Poetry.

"Far-extending, many-tinted, brilliant Ushas ! (Dawn), we know not thy abode, whether it be nigh or remote.

Daughter of the Sky ! accept these offerings, and perpetuate our welfare." (R. V., I. 30).

"She (Dawn), the young, the white-robed daughter of the sky, the mistress of all earthly treasure, dawns upon us, dissipating

darkness,.....and awakens to life all beings, unconscious like the dead in sleep.

How long have the Dawns risen ? How long will the Dawns arise ?

The present morning pursues those that are gone, future mornings will pursue this resplendent Ushas.

Mortals who beheld the pristine Ushas have passed away ; we behold her now ; and men will come after us who will behold Ushas in the future." (R. V., I. 113).

"Ahaná (Dawn) gently proceeds to every house ; she comes ever diffusing light, and blesses us and accepts our offerings.

Radiant as a bride decorated by her mother, thou displayest thy person to the view. Auspicious Ushas ! remove the investing darkness ; no other dawns but thee will disperse it." (R. V., I. 123).

Here is a graphical description of a panoplied warrior :

"When the battle is nigh, and the warrior marches in his armour, he appears like the cloud ! Warrior, let not thy person be pierced ; be victorious ; let thy armour protect you !

* * * * * * * *

The string of the bow when pulled approaches the ear of the archer, making way in battle. It whispers words of consolation to him, and with sound it clasps the arrow, even as a loving wife clasps her husband.

The quiver is like the parent of many arrows ; the many arrows are like its children. It makes a sound, and hangs on the back of a warrior, and furnishes arrows in battle, and conquers the enemy.

The expert charioteer stands on his chariot and drives his horses wheresoever he will. The reins restrain the horses from behind. Sing of their glory !

The horses raise the dust with their hoofs, and career over the field with the chariots, with loud neighings. They do not retreat, but trample the marauding enemies under their feet.

The arrow is feathered ; the deer (horn) is its teeth. Well pulled and sent by the cow-leather-string, it falls on the enemy. Wherever men stand together or are separate, there the shafts reap advantage.

The leather-guard protects the arm from the abrasion of the bow-string, and coils round the arm like a snake in its convolutions. It knows its work, and is efficient, and protects the warrior in every way."

(R. V., VI. 75).

Intellectual development.

The sanctity with which the hymns of the Rigveda were invested in course of time after their composition had ceased, led to a certain amount of intellectual development. The mystical virtues assigned in the Bráhmanas to the different metres of the Rigveda led to their systematic study under the title of Chhandas (Prosody). The minutest rules were framed for the proper pronunciation and accentuation of the hymns ; and these rules under the title of Sikshá (Phonetics) were probably appended at first to some of the Bráhmanas. The superstitious belief in the importance of performing sacrifices at auspicious moments gave rise to the science of astronomy, just as the superstitious belief in the mystic virtues of the Vedic hymns favoured the growth of the science of language.

In the Rigveda, the year is divided into twelve lunar months with an intercalary month to adjust the lunar with the solar year.* The position of the

* R. V., I. 25,8.

moon with regard to the lunar mansions is also alluded to, and some of the constellations of the lunar mansions are named.*

In later Vedic literature there are frequent allusions to astronomers or astrologers. In the third book of the Aitareya Brâhmana there is a passage of considerable interest in connection with astronomy which has been thus rendered by Dr. Haug: "The sun does never set nor rise. When people think the sun is setting (it is not so). For having arrived at the end of the day it makes itself produce two opposite effects, making night to what is below and day to what is on the other side."†

The science of Geometry arose out of the rules for the construction of altars at sacrifices. The altars were of very various shapes, square, triangular, oblong, circular, falconshaped, heronshaped &c. "Squares had to be found which would be equal to two or more given squares, or equal to the difference of two given squares; oblongs had to be turned into squares, and squares into oblongs; triangles had to be constructed equal to given squares or oblongs; and so on. The last task and not the least, was that of finding a circle, the area of which might equal as closely as possible that of a given square."‡

* R. V., VIII. 3,20; X, 85,13.

† "Aitareya Brâhmana," ii, p. 242.

‡ Thibaut, Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1875, p. 227. See R.C. Dutt, "Civilization in ancient India," Vol. I, p. 270.

The Vedic community enjoyed considerable freedom.

Government.

Government during the earlier portion at least of the Vedic Period was a limited monarchy. The Aryan territory was divided into a number of petty states each of which was governed by a *Rájan* who was elected by the people (the *Visas*) congregated in an assembly (*Samiti*). The word *Rájan* was at first applied to "one who had a seat" in the Samiti (assembly.) Originally it did not convey the sense of an autocratic monarch. Even as late as the 6th century B.C., the term appears to have been used to mean something like the Roman consul.*

Position of woman.

The ladies did not lead a secluded life like that of their descendants in later times. Several of the hymns of the Rigveda were composed by female Rishis. At a meeting of theologians convened by Janaka, King of Mithila, a learned lady named Gárgi carried on discussions with the sage Yájnavalkya. Young ladies of the time appear to have had a voice in their marriage. "The woman who is of gentle birth and of graceful form," so runs a verse of the Rigveda, "selects among many her loved one as her husband." Numerous cases of Svayamvará, that is, of ladies selecting their

* Rhys Davids—"Buddhist India," Ch. II.

The election of a King is thus referred to in the Atharva Veda, III. 1,4,2 :—

"The people elect you to rulership, the five glorious quarters (elect) you."

own husbands, are mentioned in the Mahábhárata and other works. There is sufficient evidence to show, that widow marriage was allowed, and that the right of Sati was unknown in the Vedic period. "Rise up woman" so runs a text of the Rigveda (X, 18,8) "thou art lying by one whose life is gone, come to the world of the living, away from thy husband, and become the wife of him who holds thy hand and is willing to marry thee." In later times, Arjuna married a widow, and the issue of this union, Irávan, was considered as his legitimate son. Girls were not married at a very tender age. Visvávasu, the god of marriage, is asked, in a hymn of the Rigveda to go to some maiden who has "attained the signs of marriage," "whose person is well developed" and "unite her to a husband."*

Absence of caste-system in Rigvedic period.

The Rigveda shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that until towards the very close of the Rigvedic period, the Indo-Aryans were strangers to any kind of caste distinctions among themselves. Any one who had the gift and the talent to compose hymns which attracted the attention and commanded the admiration of his bretiren, might be honoured with the appellation of 'Bráhman,' that is, a sage, an offerer of prayer. Any one who rose to distinction in the profession of arms might be eulogised under the epithet of 'Kshatriya'—that is,

* R. V. X, 85,21-22.

a man possessing power. But 'Bráhman' or 'Kshatriya,' wise man, or powerful man, he was a 'vis,' that is one of the people.*

There are however, indications in the Rigveda of a gradual differentiation of two very vaguely defined orders—the Bráhmans and the Rájanyas. The term Bráhman, which in the earlier part of the Rigvedic period could be applied to any member of the Aryan community who composed hymns and offered up prayers, became restricted towards the latter part of the period to signify a kind of priest.† Later still, the descendants of these priests were, though in only a few passages, ‡ distinguished under the appellation of of 'Bráhmanas"—a derivative word signifying the sons of a Bráhman. There is, however, nothing to shew that the Bráhmanas as yet formed an exclusive order.

From the extreme paucity of texts in which the

* Muir's "Sanskrit Texts" : Vol. I. (1868), pp. 240, *et seq.* "If then" says Prof. MaxMüller "with all the documents before us, we ask the question, Does caste, as we find it in Manu and at the present day, form part of the most ancient religious teaching of the Vedas ? We can answer with a decided 'No' "—"Chips from a German Workshop" Vol. II. (1868), p. 311.

Speaking of the Rigvedic period, Weber says : "There are no castes as yet, the people are still one united whole, and bear but one name, that of *Visas*"—"Indian Literature" (translation), p. 38.

† 'Bráhman' (m.) is evidently connected with 'Brahman' (n.) prayer. There were Vedic poets of regal origin, such as Trasadasyu, Devápi, &c.

‡ See Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," Vol. I, (1868), pp. 258 ff.

word 'Kshatriya' is appropriated to the nobility, as well as from the all but entire absence of the term 'Rájanya' which is the alternative designation of that order, and which is related to 'Rájan,' a king, in the same way as 'Bráhmana' is to 'Brahman,' a priest, we may safely infer that the Aryan princes and their relations had not yet come to be separated from the body of the people by anything like a clear line of demarcation. The name assigned to the third caste is 'Vis,' or its derivative 'Vaiś'ya.' But throughout the Rigveda, except in one of the very latest hymns, (*viz.* the Purusha Súkta) the whole of the Aryan colony, kings, priests, and all, are included under the name 'vis,' people.

Religion.

The Rigvedic Aryans, like many other peoples in their intellectual infancy, looked upon the striking phenomena of nature with awe, and worshipped them as gods. But they had no images or temples. To them there was divinity in the storm "causing the earth, the mountains, and both the worlds to quake"; in the fire consuming and blackening the woods with his tongue ; in the sun "standing on his golden chariot," the soul of all things moving or stationary ; in the Dawn chasing away darkness and awakening all creatures to cheerfulness. The Indo-Aryans invoked these and various other deities.* In some of the hymns we detect poetic powers of no

* They also worshipped some warrior-heroes. *Vide ante* p. 115.

mean order. In others, again, we discover the inquisitive mind and the generalising spirit which are among the most important antecedents of intellectual progress. One of the bards boldly speculates about creation: "when earth was not, and the far stretching sky was not, what was there that covered? which place was assigned to what object? Did the inviolate and deep water exist?—Who knows truly? Who will describe? When were all born? Whence were all these created?" "Sages" says another bard "name variously that which is one; they call it Agni, Yama, Mátarisvan." "In the beginning" says a third "there arose Hiranyagarbha. He established the earth and this sky. He is alone God above all gods."

But the philosophical spirit discernible in these and similar passages in the Rigveda did not bear any fruit until the very close of the vedic period. For some centuries subsequent to the composition of the hymns of the Rigveda, the works produced by the Indo-Aryans were chiefly manuals for the proper performance of sacrifices. The chanting of the hymns to the vedic deities was accompanied by sacrifices—offerings of grain, milk, animals, and soma-juice. The sacrificial portion of the worship appears at first to have been of a very simple character. The idea of a sacrifice, of a kind of bargain with the deities, was a characteristic idea of the Vedic cult. "Man needs things which the god possesses, such as rain, light, warmth, and health, while the god is hungry and seeks offerings from man;

there is giving and receiving on both sides."* Gradually, however, the cult eincreased in complexity until the Nature-worship or Hero-worship of the Rigvedic Aryans was practically replaced by a dry creed of sacrifice and penance. There arose different classes of priests who performed different duties at sacrifices. One class prepared the ground and the altar, got the sacrificial requisites ready, and immolated animals; another was entrusted with the duty of singing; a third with that of reciting hymns; and the fourth class of priests was charged with general superintendence. It was provided, that every hymn must be recited in a particular manner—nay, every word, every syllable must be pronounced in a prescribed way. The minutest rules were framed for penance not only for mistakes committed and observed during a sacrifice, but also for hypothetical mistakes which might have escaped the observation of the priests.

As Vedic specialists, the priests not unnaturally attached an exaggerated importance to the subjects which formed their lifelong study. They dissected the hymns, and studied their metres, their words, nay even the syllables, as histologists of the present day would study the minute constituents of the animal or

* Barth, "The Religions of India" (London, 1882), p. 36. The liturgical formulæ are at times quite clear on this point. For example, Taitt. Samh. VI, 4,5,6, "Does he wish to do harm (to an enemy)? Let him say to Súrya "Strike such a one, afterwards will I pay thee the offering. And Súrya desiring to obtain the offering strikes him."

vegetable tissues. As they displayed their analytic ability in the study of the vedic hymns, so they also exhibited their synthetic powers in building up vast and complicated systems of sacrificial ceremonies. It is highly probable that in doing so they were not unmindful of the material interests of their order; and increase in the wealth of the Aryan community consequent upon territorial acquisitions enabled its well-to-do members to celebrate sacrifices and make gifts to the priests upon a scale of grandeur and munificence unknown in previous times.

The Upanishads foreshadow the second stage.

After a time, however, towards the close of the vedic period, probably about B.C. 1000, after the Aryans had settled down in their newly acquired territories and got time for reflection, an important movement, in which the Kshatriyas, the next caste, took the leading part, began in reaction against the dogma of the efficacy and importance of sacrifice. The ascendency of the Bráhmans was based upon this dogma; and to question it was to strike at the very root of that ascendency. The spirit of inquiry of which we have faint glimmerings in the hymns of the Rigveda now began to shine in the Upanishads. They put forth the doctrine of the superiority of spiritual knowledge to sacrificial ceremonies. "The wise who perceive Him [Supreme Spirit] within their self" says one Upanishad "to them belongs eternal happiness, not to others." "Those who imagine," says another, "that oblations and pious

gifts are the highest object of man are fools ; they do not know what is good." The Upanishads foreshadowed the age of enquiry which we shall find at its culmination in the next stage.

In the Upanishads the doctrines of Pantheism and Monotheism superseded that of the Polytheism of the Vedas. "As small sparks come forth from fire, thus do all senses, all worlds, all devas, all beings come forth from that Self."* "From that Soul (Brahma) verily sprang forth ether, from ether air, from air fire, from fire water, from water earth."† That Soul is the light of lights and immortal life. Every creature exists in Him alone. He is the all-pervading, all-wise, omniscient, eternal self-existing being. He is not born ; nor does He die. He is all-seeing, not derived from anything else, eternal, indestructible. As flowing rivers are resolved into the sea losing their names and forms, so the wise freed

* Brihadáranyaka Upanishad, II. 1,20. (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XV. p. 105.) "If in this world a person knows the Soul then the true end of all human aspirations is gained, if a person in this world does not know the Soul, there will be a great calamity. The wise who discern in all beings the Brahman become immortal after departing from the world" (Talvakára Upanishad II. 5.) "Those who imagine that oblations and pious gifts are the highest object of man are fools ; they do not know what is good ; but those who with subdued senses, with knowledge, and the practice of the duties of a mendicant in the forest follow austerity and faith go freed from sin, to the abode of the Immortal Spirit" (Mundaka Upanishad, 1, 2, 10-11).

† Taittiríya Upanishad, II. 1st anuváka.

from name and form, pass into the Divine Spirit which is greater than the great. With the movement started by the Upanishads commenced the age of inquiry; the attention of men was turned inwards. They began seriously and earnestly to ask :—

> "When men away from earth have past
> Then live they still ?"*

"Is Brahman the cause ? Whence are we born ? By what do we live ? Where do we go ? At whose command do we walk after the land, in happiness and misery ? Is time the cause, or nature, or law, or chance or the elements ?"† "Does the ignorant when departing this life go to that world (of the Supreme Brahma) ? Does the wise when departing this life obtain that world ?"‡

* Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," (London 1884). Vol. V. p. 331.

† Svetásvatara Upanishad, I. 1.

‡ Taittiríya Upanishad, II. 6th anuvâka.

B.—The Second Stage.

[Circ. 1000 B. C. to Circ. 500 B. C.]

Intellectual progress.

The seed of rationalism sown by the Upanishads towards the close of the first stage yielded a rich harvest in the second. In the Vedic period, there was no knowledge apart from religion. Grammatical, metaphysical, or astronomical speculations formed only subsidiary portions of the works appended to the Vedas, the Bráhmanas and the A'ranyakas, and were ancillary to the great objects of sacrifice. The first step towards the secularisation of knowledge was the composition of concise manuals on some of these subjects under the title of Sútras, like the Pràtisàkhya sútra dealing with phonetic rules and the Súlva sútra treating of geometrical principles. In their style and mode of treatment, they contrast favourably with the Bráhmanas. They too, however, were mere appendages of the different Vedas, and thus restricted research within a narrow groove.

Science of language.

Knowledge was, however, soon freed from the bonds of dogmatic religion, and for nearly fifteen centuries led a glorious career of independence. The first start of the Indo-Aryan intellect was, as we have seen already, in the direction of the science of language. To Yáska and a number of

grammarians whose names alone have been preserved succeeded the great Pánini who lived probably about the seventh or eighth century B.C.* "Pánini's grammar" says Weber "is distinguished above all similar works of other countries partly by its thoroughly exhaustive investigation of the roots of the language, and the formation of words; partly by its sharp precision of expression, which indicates with an enigmatical succinctness whether forms come under the same or different rules. This is rendered possible by the employment of an algebraic terminology of arbitrary contrivance, the several parts of which stand to each other in the closest harmony, and which, by the very fact of its sufficing for all the phenomena which the language presents, bespeaks at once the marvellous ingenuity of its inventor, and his profound penetration of the entire material of the language."†

Philosophy.

The rationalistic spirit of the second stage was in no department of knowledge better exhibited than in several of the systems of Hindu philosophy. All scholars who have studied

* Pánini's date is still one of the many disputed points in the history of ancient India. See Goldstücker's "Pánini," pp. 129-141, 224-227; Weber, "History of Indian Literature" (translation, pp. 217 ff); Max-Müller, "History of ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 163 ff.

† Weber, *op cit.*, p. 216. Since the time of Pánini the most important contributions to the science of language have been made by Kátyáyana who lived a few centuries after Pánini, by Pátanjali who flourished about the second century B. C., and by Amara Sinha whose date has been assigned to about the sixth century A.D.

that philosophy bear testimony to the high regard for truth which actuated the Indian philosophers, to the acuteness of their reasoning faculty, and to the boldness with which they carried their theories and doctrines to their logical conclusion. "What I admire in Indian philosophers," says Max Müller, "is that they never try to deceive us as to their principles and the consequences of their theories. If they are idealists, even to the verge of nihilism, they say so, and if they hold that the objective world requires a real, though not necessarily a visible or tangible substratum, they are never afraid to speak out. They are *bonafide* idealists or materialists, monists or dualists, theists or atheists, because their reverence for truth is stronger than their reverence for any thing else. The Vedantist, for instance, is a fearless idealist, and as a monist, denies the reality of any thing but the one Brahman, the Universal Spirit, which is to account for the whole of the phenomenal world. The followers of Sàmkhya, on the contrary, though likewise idealists, and believers in an unseen Purusha (subject), and an unseen Prakriti (objective substance) leave us in no doubt, that they are and mean to be atheists, so far as the existence of an active God, a maker and ruler of the worlds, is concerned. They do not allow themselves to be driven one inch from their self-chosen position."*

* "The six systems of Indian Philosophy," p. xi.

Conceptions common to Hindu systems of philosophy.

There are a few fundamental ideas which are common to all the systems of Indian philosophy. One of these is, that this world is full of suffering. This fact has led some scholars to charge Indian philosophers with pessimism. But, as Max Müller observes, "People who derived their name for good from a word which originally meant nothing but being or real, *Sat*, are not likely to have looked upon what is as what ought not to be. Indian philosophers are by no means dwelling for ever on the miseries of life. They are not always whining or protesting that life is not worth living. That is not their pessimism. They simply state that they received the first impulse to philosophical reflection from the fact that there is suffering in the world. They evidently thought that in a perfect world suffering had no place, that it is something anomalous, something at all events to be accounted for, and, if possible, overcome. Pain, certainly, seems to be an imperfection, and, as such, may well have caused the question why it existed and how it could be annihilated. But this is not the disposition which we are accustomed to call pessimism."*

The next conception which underlies all the systems is, that the "evils to which flesh is heir to" are

* "Six Systems of Indian Philosophy" p. 140.

caused by ignorance. Different systems give it different names. The Sámkhya, for instance, calls it, *Avireka*, "non-discrimination," the Vedánta, *Avidya*, "nescience," and the Nyáya, *Mithyájnána*, "false knowledge." But they all practically mean the same thing, want of true knowledge. We must suffer from the consequences of such ignorance, if not in this life, then in the next. We must reap as we sow. Our thoughts and deeds, our merits and demerits never perish, but must bear fruit sometime or other, if not in the present life, then in a future life. The doctrine of Karma "the continuous working of every thought, word, or deed through all ages"—and that of Samsára, Metempsychosis, are ingrained in the Hindu mind. These theories were started to account for the apparent injustice in the distribution of happiness and misery in this world. If a man's suffering is not traceable to his evil deeds or evil thoughts in this life, they are attributed to his transgressions in some past life. All our earthly troubles and tribulations are traced to aberrations from knowledge if not in the present, then in some past life.

Thus the root cause of all our sufferings is in ourselves, in our ignorance. And as man is the author of his own evil, he must work out his own salvation himself by self-culture. The different philosophical systems point out these paths of culture. With the exception of the positively atheistic and materialistic systems, they all have the salvation of the soul in

view, for they all believe in its immortality.* The soul is held in the *bandha* or bondage of ignorance, and its salvation consists in the severance of that bondage by true knowledge. "In all Hindu philosophy it is knowledge which saves and it is the soul which is saved. The case of flesh in which the soul.....finds itself is of the earth, earthy; and the earthy bonds blear its vision. It is knowledge, knowledge of the highest truth, that restores to the soul the consciousness that it is of the heaven, heavenly, and all attachment to objects of sense is pernicious and delusive. When the soul has realised this it slips the carnal bonds and, recognising its own true nature, once more dwells apart in moral and spiritual grandeur."†

The Sámkhya.

Of the various systems of philosophy developed during the second stage of Hindu Civilization, the Sámkhya is the oldest, as it is certainly the boldest and the most pro-

* "This idea (immortality of the Soul) was so completely taken for granted, that we look in vain for any elaborate arguments in support of it. Mortality with the Hindus is so entirely restricted to the body which decays and decomposes before our very eyes, that such an expression as A'tmanomritavam, immortality of the Self, sounds almost tautological in Sanskṛit."

MaxMüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 138—139.

† S. C. Bannerji, "Sámkhya Philosophy," p. xx. The Moksha or Nirvána of Hindu philosophy "was not meant for *Vergötterung*, not even for the *Vergottung* of Eckhart, it was meant for complete freedom, freedom from all conditions and limitations, selfdom in fact." (MaxMüller, *op. cit.* p. 364).

found.* Kapila, the author of this system, starts with denying the efficacy of the Vedic rites. Herein he was not singular, as several of the authors of the Upanishads had also done the same before him. But he went further. He would admit nothing that could not be known by the three kinds of evidence recognised by him—perception, inference, and testimony. And he would not admit the existence of an active Supreme Being as it could not be proved by such evidence. But, as Max Müller observes, "the atheism of Sámkhya philosophy was very different from what we mean by it. It was the negation of the necessity of admitting an active or limited personal god, and hence was carefully distinguished in India from the atheism of the Nástikas or nihilists, who denied the existence of anything transcendent, of anything beyond our bodily senses, of anything divine."

The Sámkhya philosophy is dualistic. According to it there are two fundamental principles of being, the subject and the object, the ego and the non-ego, the self and the not-self. However diverse the objects of our knowledge, they all have one common feature, *viz.* that they are other than the subject of knowledge. The object is called by Kapila, Prakriti or Pradhán, Nature, the unmanifest, eternal, primordial principle. Kapila is an uncompromising evolutionist. The whole

* For analyses of the Sámkhya and other systems of philosophy referred to here, see Colebrooke, "Miscellaneous Essays," Max Müller, "six systems of Indian Philosophy," Davies, "Hindu Philosophy," &c.

world, every thing except soul, has according to him been evolved out of this primal agent. The order of evolution has been from the homogeneous to the heterogenous, from the subtle to the more gross, from the simple to the more complex. The undifferentiated, homogeneous, plastic stuff, Prakriti, is regarded as "the equipoised condition of certain forces. These forces are three, *Sattva, rajas,* and *tamas.* The first perhaps may be rendered as the force of stable existence, the second is the force of attraction, the third of repulsion. When Intelligence supervenes there is a disturbance, and the activity of the last two forces leads to evolution by aggregation and segregation.. .....When the several forces aggregate in excess or defect there is creation ; when the aggregation is broken up, they revert to the original state of equipoise, and there is dissolution."*

This evolution of the various objects of our experience from non-differentiated, formless, primary matter is effected by the intervention of Purusha, Soul, the principle of intelligence. Kapila's idea of the Soul is taken from the Upanishads. It is "without parts,

* S. C. Bannerji, "Sámkhya Philosophy." pp. xxxii—xxxiv. The process of evolution conceived by Kapila is not very different from that now current in the Western world. "Evolution" says Herbert Spencer, "is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity ; and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." ("First Principles," p. 396.)

without action, and without change, blameless and unsullied," and is "intelligent, alone, and devoid of the three qualities."* But for the agency of the Soul (the Ego) the cosmic primordial matter (the non-ego) would continue in its potential condition. "It is only when the non-ego approaches the ego that the influence of the latter sets up a commotion within it, the equilibrium of the forces is disturbed, and the object-world becomes manifest in discrete forms. The meshes of this world then encompass the soul, and in the multitude of perceptions, it gets confouded and comes to fancy that it is identical with what it perceives. The confusion is between the soul and what for distinction's sake may be called the self.....The ordinary man thus loses sight of the soul in its ultimate essence, the transcendental ego, and is even misled to think, that it is the same as the empirical ego. It is this error which lies at the root of all our misery, by being at once the result and the cause of experience, and the end of philosophy is to dispel it and, by establishing truth to put an end to the bondage of soul."† According to Kapila each soul‡ is separate and leads

* Svetásvatara Upanishad, VI. 19,11.

† S. C. Bannerji, *op. cit.* pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

‡ The existence of soul is proved by the following arguments (Sámkhya-káriká, Sútra XXII).

First. The assemblage of material objects is for the sake of another. "As a bed," argues a commentator, "which is an assemblage of bedding, props, cotton, coverlet, and pillows, is for another's use,

a separate existence after its emancipation from the bonds of nescience. The soul, according to Kapila, being passive, the individuality of a man is hardly stamped on it. Hence believing as he did with other Indian philosophers in the transmigration of souls, he assumed, that "something more than the soul migrated, that a subtle body (*Linga Sarira*) consisting of the intellect, the consciousness, and the *manas* and the subtle principles migrated with the soul." When the soul has acquired discriminative knowledge, and recognises that it is different from the object-world, the chain of migration (Samsára) is snapped, and it stands free. "Thenceforth it dwells in beatitude, in blissful contemplation of its own nature, which is the highest. ...It has returned from the variegated world of experience to the deep recess of its own self, and its being thereafter is in immediate self-intuition (Anubhava.)"*

not its own, even so this world which is an assemblage of the five elements, is for the use of the soul."

Secondly. The object-world furnishes material for pleasure and pain. "Hence sentient nature which feels pleasure and pain must be different from it."

Thirdly. The cosmic stuff being inanimate and irrational, there is necessity for a rational and intelligent principle to superintend its evolution. The soul is such a principle.

Fourthly. The non-ego presupposes the ego. "When there are objects of experience, there must be a subject to experience."

Fifthly. The universal yearning for a higher and a better state proves the possibility of gaining it.

* S. C. Bannerji, *op. cit.* pp. xliv—xlv.

According to the Sámkhya system, the senses receive impressions, and the five organs of action act according to their functions. The *manas* (mind) arranges the impressions and presents them to consciousness which individualises them as "mine." The function of the intellect is to distinguish and discriminate these impressions, form them into distinct ideas and present them to the soul.*

"The latest German Philosophy" says Mr. Davies, "is a reproduction of the philosophic system of Kapila in its materialistic part, presented in a more eleborate form but on the same fundamental lines. In this respect the human intellect has gone over the same ground, that it occupied more than two thousand years ago; but on a more important question it has taken a step in retreat. Kapila recognised fully the existence of a soul in man, forming indeed his proper nature—the absolute ego of Fichte—distinct from matter and immortal; our latest philosophy, both here and in Germany, can see in man only a highly developed physical organisation. 'All external things'

* The graduation of these functions is thus illustrated by a commentator :—

"As the headmen of a village collect taxes from the villagers and pay them to the governor of the district; as the local governor pays the amount to the minister; and the minister receives it for the use of the king; so mind, having received ideas from the external organs, transfers them to egotism, and egotism delivers them to intellect, which is the general superintendent, and takes charge of them for the use of the sovereign, soul."

says Kapila 'were formed that the soul might know itself and be free.' " 'The study of psychology is vain' says Schopenhauer, 'for there is no Psyche.' "*

The Yoga.

The Yoga system† is supplementary to the Sámkhya. "The really important character of the Yoga," observes Max Müller, "consists in its teaching that, however true the Sámkhya philosophy may be, it fails to accomplish its end without those practical helps which the Yoga-philosophy alone supplies. The human mind, though fully enlightened as to its true nature, would soon be carried away again by the torrent of life; the impressions of the senses and all the cares and troubles of every-day life would return, if there were no means of making the mind as firm as a rock. Now this steadying of the mind, this Yoga, is what Pátanjali is chiefly concerned with."‡

Yoga is the restraint, and, in the end, suppression of all the actions and functions of the mind. There are various obstacles in the way of the attainment of such detachment and tranquillity—doubt, carelessness, passionate attachment, wrong perception. The soul is pure, but it is contaminated by contact with the

* "Hindu Philosophy," Preface.

† The author of this system, Pátanjali, lived according to Goldstücker in the second century B. C. So strictly speaking it belongs to the next period. But there are reasons for believing that it is based upon an older work.

‡ *op. cit.* p. 440.

objective world, just as clear crystal reflects the colour of the flowers placed near it. Knowledge severs the bondage in which the spirit is held by matter, and there are eight means prescribed for its attainment.

1. Yama—which consists in avoiding injury to life, falsehood, misappropriation, incontinence, and avarice.

2. Niyama—purity (both bodily and mental), contentment, austerity, study, and devotion to God.

3. A'sana—special postures for meditation.

4. Pránáyáma—regulation of the breath.

5. Pratyáhára—restraint, or abstraction of the organs from their natural functions.

6. Dhárana—steadying of the mind by confining it to one object, the tip of the nose, the navel, the sky &c.

7. Dhyána—contemplation of the one object of Dhyána to the exclusion of all others.

8. Samádhi—profound meditation, or absorption, by which the mind is thoroughly collected and remains firmly fixed on one point.

The Nyaya.

The Nyáya of Gautama is more a system of Logic than of Philosophy. As a philosophical system it is based upon the Sámkhya, and differs from it mainly in admitting the existence of a Supreme Soul and in recognising analogy as a kind of evidence in addition to the three kinds—perception, inference, and testimony—admitted by the Sámkhya. The Nyáya discusses methods of reasoning with the greatest subtlety. It starts with sixteen

topics for discussion which leave nothing to be desired to the most contentious dialectician. First of all, there is the proof and the thing to be proved. Then follow doubt, motive, instance, determined truth, argument, or syllogism, confutation, ascertainment, controversy, jangling, objection, fallacy, perversion, futility, reasoning.

The last seven topics "are rules for dialectic rather than for logic. We are taught how to meet the artifices of our antagonists in a long argumentation, how to avoid or to resist sophistry, wrangling, fallacies, quibbles, false analogies, and downright misstatements, in fact, how to defend truth against unfair antagonists."*

Of the four kinds of proof admitted by Gautama, inference is the most, important. It is of three kinds:— "Púrvavat, proceeding from what was before, *i. e.* an antecedent; Seshavat, proceeding from what was after, *i. e.*, a consequent; and Sámányato Drishta, proceeding from what is constantly seen together.....It is generally explained that a Púrvavat preceded by or possessed of a *prius*, refers to the mutual relation between a sign and what is signified by it, so that the observation of the sign leads to the observation or rather inference of what is universally associated with it or marked by it. This unconditional association is afterwards treated under the name of Vyápti, literally pervasion of one thing by

* Max Müller, *op. cit.* p. 491.

another. Examples will make this clearer. When we see a river rising we infer as its Púrva or *prius* that it has rained. When we see that the ants carry their eggs, or that the peacocks are screaming, we infer as the Sesha or posterior that it will rain. It is true that in all these cases, the reason given for an inference may what is called, wander away, that is, may prove too much or too little. In that case the fault arises from the conditioned character of the Vyápti or the pervasion. Thus the rising of a river may be due to its having been dammed up, the carrying off their eggs by the ants may have been caused by some accidental disturbance of their hill, and the screaming of the peacocks may really have been imitated by men. The fault, however, in such cases does not affect the process of inference, but the Vyápti only; and as soon as the relation between the sign and the thing signified has been rectified the inference will come right. Each Vyápti, that is each inductive truth, consists of a sign (Limga), and the bearer of a sign (Limgin). The bearer of the sign is called Vyápaka or pervading, the sign itself Vyápya, what is to be pervaded. Thus smoke is the sign (Limga, Vyápya), and fire is what pervades the smoke, is always present where there is smoke, is the *sine qua non* of smoke, is therefore Limgin or Vyápaka. But every thing depends on whether the two are absolutely or only conditionally related. These conditions are called Upádhis. Thus the relation between fire and smoke is conditioned by

damp fire wood ; and there are other cases also where fire exists without smoke, as in a red-hot iron ball.

The third kind of inference Sámányato Drishta is based on what is constantly seen together.....Even a deaf man may infer the existence of sound if he sees a particular conjunction of a drumstick with a drum. It requires but a certain amount of experience to infer the presence of an ichneumon from seeing an excited snake or to infer fire from perceiving the heat of water ..... In all such cases the correctness of the inference is one thing, the truth of the conclusion quite another, the latter being always conditioned by the presence or absence of certain Upádhis."*

The inference of the Nyáya system is neither Aristotelian syllogism nor Mill's Induction, but a combined deductive-inductive process. It combines deductive particularisation with inductive generalisation. The complete Nyáya syllogism consists of five parts, and the following is a generally quoted example :—

(1) The hill is fiery (Proposition to be established)

(2) For it smokes (Reason)

(3) Whatever smokes is fiery, as a hearth (General proposition and an example.)

(4) Yonder hill is smoking (Application of the reason)

(5) Therefore, yonder hill is fiery (Conclusion, the probandum proved.)

* Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 497-498.

This inference (Anumána) "anticipates J. S. Mill's analysis of the syllogism as a material inference, but is more comprehensive ;—for the Hindu Udáharana, the third or general proposition with an example, combines and harmonises Mill's view of the major premise as a brief memorandum of like instances already observed, fortified by a recommendation to extend its application to unobserved cases, with the Aristotelian view of it as a universal proposition which is the formal ground of the inference."*

The Vaisesika.

The Indian thinkers did not confine themselves to mental science but paid great attention to the physical sciences also. Of all the older systems of Hindu philosophy, the Vaisesika of Kanáda carried physical speculations to the highest pitch of development. The fundamental principles of this system are, that all material substances are aggregates of atoms, and that as such aggregates they are perishable, though the atoms themselves are eternal, invisible and intangible. The aggregates may be organised, organic, or inorganic. "We are told that water, in its atomic state, is eternal, but, as an aggregate, transient. Beings in the realm of Varuna (god of the sea) are organised, taste is the watery organ, rivers are water inorganic. Light in its atomic state, is eternal, as an aggregate

* Prof. B. N. Seal, "Scientific method of the Hindus" in Prof. P. C. Ray's "History of Hindu Chemistry," p. 234.

transient. There are organic luminous bodies in the sun, sight or the visual ray is the luminous organ, burning fires are inorganic. Air again is both atomic and an aggregate.....Ether is always eternal and infinite. The sense of hearing is the ethereal organ ; nay, it is supposed by some that ether is actually contained in the ear.

As to atoms, they are supposed to form first an aggregate of two, then an aggregate of three double atoms, then of four triple atoms, and so on. While single atoms are indestructible, composite atoms are by their very nature liable to decomposition, and, in that sense, to destruction. An atom, by itself invisible, is compared to the sixth part of a mote in the sunbeam."*

Kanáda recognises seven categories : (1) Substances, (2) Quality, (3) Action, (4) Community, (5) Particularity, (6) Coherence, and (7) Non-existence. In the first of these categories are included earth, water, Tejas, air, Akása (ether), time, space, soul, and the *manas* † (mind). The characteristic properties of Tejas are given as luminosity and warmth of feeling. Light and heat are held to be only different forms of the same essential substance (Tejas) ; and the phenomenon of lightning is incidentally explained as the joint action of Tejas and A'kása. Kanáda's conception of A'kása is that of a universal subtle substance which

* Max Müller, *op. cit.* pp. 584-585.

† Max Müller thinks this word might be translated by attention rather than by mind, *op. cit.* p. 584.

transmits sound and which is infinite, one, and eternal. Time and space also are, like A'kása, indivisible, eternal, and infinite.

The second category, Quality, comprises the qualities of the substances mentioned in the first. They are colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, extension, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, intellection, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, and volition.

Karma (Action),* which forms the third category, is of five kinds——upward and downward movement, contraction, expansion, and general motion.

The fourth category, Community (Sámánya) is "supposed to be eternal and a property common to several, and abiding in substance, in quality, and in action. It is distinguished by degrees, as high and low; the highest Sámánya, or, as we should say, the highest genus (Játi) is Sattá, mere being, afterwards differentiated by upádhis, or limitations, and developed into ever so many subordinate species."†

The fifth category, Particularity, comprises single objects devoid of community.

The sixth category, Coherence, includes things which must be Connected so long as they exist, as, for instance, yarn and cloth.

* Energy or force would, perhaps, better convey the sense in which the term "Karma" is used.

† Max Müller, *op. cit.* p. 586.

The Pu'rva Mi'ma'nsa' and the Uttara Mi'ma'nsa'.

These four systems of philosophy—the Sámkhya, the Yoga, the Nyáya, and the Vaisesika are among the grandest monuments of the Indian period of philosophical inquiry. In them we find anticipated some of the most important scientific truths of the present day. There is scarcely any trace of dogmatism or superstition in them. Discussions are conducted with a closeness of reasoning and are pursued to their logical conclusions in a manner such as we would expect in any philosophical work of the present day. But side by side with the heterodox rationalistic schools, there were two orthodox systems the Púrva Mímánsá, and the Uttara Mímánsá. The former endeavoured dogmatically to maintain the absolute authority of the Vedas (comprising the Bráhmanas) which it holds to be eternal and revealed. Its conception of duty is the performance of sacrificial ceremonies prescribed by the Bráhmanas. The Uttara Mímánsá or Vedánta of Vyása Bádaráyana is based upon the Upanishads and like them inculcates the inefficacy of such ceremonies. It is a protest against the orthodox Vedic creed of rites and sacrifices as well as against the heterodox rationalistic systems one of which—the Sámkhya—did not, recognise a supreme Soul at all, and the others, though they admitted it, did so only incidentally. The protest, however, was well worthy of the age which produced it. It is more a system of religion than of philosophy as generally understood, but of religion probably the

most philosophical that the world has yet seen. The manner in which the pantheism of the Upanishads is systematised in the Vedánta, shows how the rationalistic spirit of the age had influenced religion. It would probably be no exaggeration to say, that the Vedantic conception of the Supreme Spirit is the loftiest that humanity has yet been capable of. "The supreme Being is one, sole-existent, sempiternal, infinite, ineffable, invariable, ruler of all, universal soul, truth, wisdom, intelligence, happiness." He is the first cause. "All this universe is indeed Brahma; from Him does it proceed; into Him is it dissolved; in Him it breathes." "The sea is one, and not other than its waters; yet, waves, foam, spray, drop, froth, and other modifications of it differ from each other." "Like sun and other luminaries, seemingly multiplied by reflection though really single, and like space apparently subdivided in vessels containing it within limits, the Supreme Light is without difference or distinction."

According to the Vedánta, the phenomenal world is a mere illusion (Máyá), like a mirage, or a rope, which in the darkness we mistake for a serpent. As Sankaráchárya, the great commentator of the Vedánta philosophy says: "The entire complex of phenomenal existence is considered as true so long as the knowledge of Brahman and the Self of all has not arisen, just as the phantoms of a dream are considered to be true until the sleeper awakes." "Everything is illusive

with the exception of my own Self, the A'tman (Soul). The Soul is not passive, but its activity is adventitious. As the carpenter with his tools in his hand toils on, but is easy when he has laid them aside, so is the soul active while in conjunction with the senses and organs, but quitting them enjoys repose. The individual soul is only a part of the Supreme Soul (Brahman), as a spark is of fire."* The soul transmigrates invested in a subtle frame, according to its works (Karma) until its final emancipation. This deliverance is effected by divine knowledge which is attained by devout exercises and pious meditation. Having enjoyed the reward and suffered the pains of good and bad actions, the possessor of such knowledge is at last re-united with the Brahman (the Universal Soul), as rivers are absorbed into the ocean.

The atheistic systems.

The six systems which we have briefly outlined above were either agnostic or theistic, and accepted the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. There were others, however, which were thoroughly materialistic and atheistic, and

* The uncompromising monist, Samkaráchárya, interprets this to mean the identity of the individual and the Universal Soul. Our Soul, argues Samkara, cannot be a part of Brahman, because It is without parts, neither can it be different from Brahman, because It is one, nor a metamorphosed condition of Brahman, because It is unchangeable. Therefore, the individual Soul *is* the Universal Soul. "I am Brahman," says Samkara. Consequently, I am eternal, almighty and all-pervading. But these divine qualities are latent in me, as fire is latent in wood, and will appear only after the final deliverance of the Soul.

they appear to have claimed numerous adherents. The Chárváka is the best known of such systems. It accepts no evidence except sensuous perception, denies a future state and considers death to be the end of all things. It considers the soul to be not a thing by itself, but simply "the body qualified by the attribute of intelligence, and therefore supposed to perish with the body." To the Chárvákas sensual enjoyment is the end of life, and pain is simply an unavoidable accompaniment of pleasure. They hold, that "there is no paradise, no deliverance, and certainly no self in another world. . . . . If he who has left the body goes to another world, why does he not come back again perturbed by love of his relations?"

Economic progress.

We have no exact information of the economic progress made during the period under review. But the works of such old legislators as Vasishtha, Gautama and Baudháyana indirectly throw some light upon it. The usury laws, for instance, presume a considerable amount of economic differentiation. Banking business was regularly carried on; and the interest upon loans on security was fixed at 15 per cent. per annum. According to one of the legislators, interest ceases when the principal has been doubled, and "when the object pledged is used by the creditor, the money lent bears no interest at all." "Six different kinds of interest are recognised: the use of a pledge, daily interest, corporal interest, stipulated interest, periodical interest, and compound interest.

Gautama lays down "that the heirs shall pay the debts of a deceased person, but provides that money due by a surety, a commercial debt, a fee due to the parents of the bride, immoral debts and fines shall not devolve on the sons of the debtor."* The Law of Inheritance shows that estates consisting of lands, live-stock, furniture &c. were by no means unusual.

Spiritual and ethical progress.

With the exception of the purely materialistic philosophy, such as, the Chárváka, all the other systems, whether agnostic, theistic, or pantheistic, had spiritual culture for their end. Accepting as they all did the doctrine of Karma, and that of the immortality of the soul, they all strove to discover the path of its salvation. Diverse were the paths which they recommended, but they were all paths of knowledge, and their goal was the same, the liberation of the soul from the bondage of ignorance, from the prison-house of its gross physical body. Illuminating knowledge of this kind could not be acquired except by hard, life-long study and self-culture, and must have been confined within a small circle of philosophic students. The spiritual culture attained by them must have been of a very lofty kind and must have led to high ethical development. The ethical standard even of the Upanishads, which preceded the systems of philosophy, was a very elevated one. In the Katha Upanishad, for instance, we read,

* R. C. Dutt "Civilization in Ancient India," Vol. I., p. 237.

that "what men are conscious of as the right (*sreyas*) is different from what they are conscious of as the pleasurable (*preyas*). Men are influenced by them for different purposes. He that follows the pleasurable falls off. The right and the pleasurable taking hold of all men, the calm reflecting man separates the one from the other and follows the right, while the corrupt follows the pleasurable." But the realisation of such an ideal of transcendental ethics involved a degree of self-culture, which could not be expected from the mass of the people, especially as Indian society had, as we shall presently see, undergone a considerable expansion owing to the incorporation of the aborigines within it. The path of knowledge prescribed by the Upanishads and the systems of philosophy was too difficult for the ordinary man to follow. The religion of the Upanishads and of the philosophic systems (especially of the Vedánta),—known as the Jnána-márga,——on which Hindu ethics was based, was too intellectual and subjective for him. The religion of the Uttara Mimánsá, which was one of dogma and formula and to a large extent objective (Karma-márga), was easier. But the sacrificial rites and ceremonies which it involved were too complicated and expensive for the ordinary A'rya. As for the non-Aryan and the mixed classes, who must have been numerically preponderant, they were altogether debarred from spiritual salvation vouchsafed by both these descriptions of Aryan religion. The intellectual or well-to-do few among the Aryans were

concerned with their own salvation only, and they appear to have as yet bestowed but little thought upon the salvation and the spiritual and ethical development of the ignorant many.

The caste-system.

By the close of the second stage, Indo-Aryan society had undergone a radical change. It was no longer purely Aryan. In the Rigveda, the non-Aryan aborigines are described as irreligious, impious, and the lowest of the low ; they are also in some texts contemptuously called *black-skinned*—a very significant epithet, as the Sanskrit terms for 'Caste' primarily means colour, which points to an original difference of colour as the cause of caste. Thus, during the Rigvedic period, there were, if we may so express ourselves, two 'colors'—the fair (Aryan), and the black (Dasyu or Dása). So long as these two classes were related to each other as belligerents there could be no question of caste. But the Aryans ultimately secceeded in conquering and subjugating their opponents ; and instead of exterminating the conquered tribes, or reducing them to a condition of slavery, they followed a policy characterised by comparative mercy and humanity. The aboriginal tribes—now called Súdras*—were incorporated with the Aryan society though on the hard condition, that they should occupy the lowest position in it.

* In the Atharvaveda, the A'ryas are not only contrasted with Dásas or Dasyus, but also with Súdras.

Thus was formed a mixed society composed of two perfectly distinct ethnological castes. This amalgamation of the Aryans and non-Aryans, originally differing in many essential respects from each other, is the key to the most important phenomena in the history of ancient India. The numerical strength of the A'ryas was probably vastly inferior to that of the aborigines; but the intellectual and moral superiority of the former was in almost inverse ratio. They exerted enormous influence, not only on the Northern aborigines whom they mostly conquered, but also on the Drávidians of the South, among whom they settled on perfectly amicable terms, but who, nevertheless, tamely acknowledged their supremacy, and voluntarily consented to occupy the social position assigned to them.

As time rolled on, the hymns which the bards of olden times had sung became more and more antiquated. Our Aryan ancestors had great faith in them. Those hymns had led their forefathers to victory, and had brought down countless blessings from above. The art of writing had not yet been invented; and the hymns were very numerous and very long. There were over a thousand of them; and each would, on the average, fill one page of an octavo volume. This was not all; every hymn must be recited in a particular manner—every word, every syllable must be pronounced in a prescribed way. Besides, many idioms of the ancient hymns gradually became obsolete. The Aryan territories gradually covered a considerably wider area;

population increased ; considerable progress was made in arts and manufactures. Every Aryan was expected to have gone through the hymns once. But very few of those who were engaged in the ordinary occupations of life could afford room in their brains, for a thousand and odd long hymns, with obsolete idioms and expressions, so as to be able to reproduce them at notice. All these circumstances tended to create a class of men, the Bráhmans, who treasured up the hymns in their memory, and officiated at the sacrifices. The accumulation of wealth by the Aryans, who now began to call themselves Dvijas, twice born, furthered the division of labour amongst them, and afforded the Bráhmans opportunity for devoting themselves entirely to their pursuits.

The Kshatriyas or Rájanyas—composed of princes, their kinsmen and followers, became more and more specialised with the gradual extension of Aryan territories and the consequent increase in the number of petty principalities.

The mass of the A'ryas formed the third class, Vaisyas. In the beginning, however, these three classes must have interlapped. They enjoyed many privileges in common, the most important of which were investiture with the sacred thread, the performance of sacrifice, and the study of the Sástras. The Súdras, however, who formed the fourth and lowest caste, were, as we would expect from the circumstances of their admission into the Aryan society, excluded from all these privileges.

Condition of the mass of the people.

The duty prescribed for them was to serve the three higher classes. The inborn Aryan pride of birth and spirit of exclusiveness are reflected in the laws which were framed to keep the Súdra as distinct from these classes as possible. His position was, no doubt, gradually improved in a variety of ways. Outside the limits of the Aryan territories there reigned powerful aboriginal princes. As the population of the A'ryas increased they had to migrate and settle in the dominions of many of these, who were either classed with the Súdras, or described as fallen from some one or other of the three higher castes. But, however they may have been described by Bráhmanical writers, and whatever may have been the influence of Aryan civilization upon them, politically and socially they were far superior to the original Súdras. A dynasty of Súdra kings became paramount in Northern India about the fourth century before the Christian era. Then, again, outside the pale of Hindu community there were a great many savage and semi-savage tribes. The Aryan authors manufactured fanciful genealogies for them, made them out to be 'mixed' or 'fallen' castes and assigned them a position below that of the original Súdras. Thus the lowest caste of the earlier times came to stand rather high later on, for there were now scores of castes below it. The inter-marriage moreover, between Bráhmans and Kshatriyas, Bráhmans and Vaisyas, Bráhmans and Súdras, and between Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, Kshatriyas and Súdras, and so

on, tended to bridge over the gulf that had once interposed between the original pure Aryan castes and the aboriginal Súdras, not so much, if at all, by the establishment of distinct 'mixed' castes, as by that of divisions and subdivisions of the various castes. In this intermixture of Aryan and non-Aryan blood, the loss in purity to the higher classes, was a clear gain to the lower. Thus the invidious distinction between the Aryans as a caste of conquerors and the Súdras as a caste of the conquered became less marked than before, and the stain that had once rested on the Súdra as belonging to a race, separated almost by an impassable barrier from the higher classes, ceased to be so deep as before.

Nevertheless, the condition of the Súdras and the mixed castes who formed the mass of the people was hard enough. The lower classes were debarred from the study of the religious and philosophical literature of the higher classes. The paths of salvation which had been discovered by great thinkers were not open to them. The laws enjoined, that if a Súdra listened to a recitation of the Veda his ears should be stopped with molten tin or lac, that if he recited Vedic texts, his tongue should be cut out.* Such stringent regulations were indeed unnecessary, because the mass of the people were ignorant of the language in which the culture of the time was enshrined, and there was

no provision in the educational system which then prevailed to teach it to them. With Aryan expansion and the incorporation of non-Aryan aborigines into Hindu society there had sprung up dialects as different from Sanscrit as French or German is from Latin; and they had not as yet given birth to any literature.

The condition of the lower classes began to excite the commiseration of the wise and the good among the higher towards the close of the second stage, and two important socio-religious movements—the Buddhistic Hinduism and Paurânik Hinduism—were inangurated for the elevation of the former which will now claim our attention.

C.—The Third Stage.

[Circ. B.C. 500—Circ. A.D. 700].

(a) BUDDHISM.

Gautama Buddha and his ethics.

The iniquity of an organised system of class distinction such as caste which precluded the lower classes from participation in the intellectual, ethical, and spiritual culture of the higher, must gradually have struck many a cultured and broad-minded Hindu as they advanced in the third stage of their civilization ; and earnest attempts were made to minimise it. The most remarkable of these attempts was made by Gautama Buddha.* He was the connecting link between the second and third stages of Indian civilization. He was an erudite philosopher as well as a large-hearted philanthropist. The intellectual giants of the second stage cultivated their head but neglected their heart. The path of salvation pointed out by them was to be pursued by developing the intellectual and suppressing the emotional side of man. The emotions were to be restrained, not chastened and elevated. Their ethics was of

* The probable date of Buddha's death was about 487 B. C.

a lofty order, but it was ethics of the head, of cold reason ; the warmth of the heart was wanting. It was what may be called soulless ethics. Buddha supplied the soul by his deep and all-embracing love for humanity.

He was early impressed with the miseries to which humanity is subject : "Birth is sorrowful ; growth decay, illness, death all are sorrowful ; separation from subjects we love, hating what cannot be avoided, and craving for what cannot be obtained, are sorrowful." To seek for a way which would lead to the cessation of all sorrow, he fled from home, from all who were dearest and nearest to him ; and the heir-apparent to the throne of Kapilavastu became a poor student and homeless wanderer.

After studying the various systems of Brahmanical philosophy then in vogue he went into a jungle near the present Buddha Gayá, and there for six years practised severe asceticism which was then and still is a recognised path of Brahmanic salvation. Finding, however, the futility of the course of penance and mortification to which he subjected himself, he sat down under a tree—the celebrated Bo-tree—and there for one whole day pondered over the problem which had long engaged his earnest attention. Before the day closed he had become enlightened (the Buddha)—found what he had vainly sought for in asceticism, the cause and the cure of human misery. He had, while at Kapilavastu, found that the pleasures of sense are

degrading, vulgar, vain and profitless, and had more recently found the inefficacy of asceticism. The path of salvation which he discovered under the Bo-tree and which he devoted the remaining years of his life in preaching with characteristic missionary zeal, is what he called the "Middle Path." It is summed up in eight fundamental principles, *viz.*, (1) right belief; (2) right aims; (3) right speech; (4) right actions; (5) right means of livelihood; (6) right endeavour; (7) right mindfulness; (8) right meditation. The means requisite for salvation is still more briefly summed up by the Buddha in the following verse :—

"To cease from all wrong doing,
To get virtue,
To cleanse one's own heart,
This is the religion of the Buddha."

The goal to which such a life of right conduct leads is Nirvána—the "sinless, calm state of mind, the condition of perfect peace, goodness and wisdom."

Divergence of Buddhism from Hinduism.

There are several important points in which the system promulgated by Buddha differed from orthodox Hinduism. In the first place, he disregarded caste-distinctions. One of the most prominent leaders of the Order founded by him was Upáli, a barber by caste; and a rope-dancer was not considered too low for it. On one

occasion, he was treated by a goldsmith (a member of one of the lower castes) to a dish of pork, a dish which is said to have caused his death. On another occasion he became the guest of a courtesan. The salvation of the despised Súdra was of as great concern to him as that of the honoured Bráhman. Secondly, he struck at the root of the Bráhman ascendancy by teaching and preaching in Páli, the language of the people, instead of in Sanskrit. He preached alike to princes and people, men and women, learned and ignorant. Thirdly, he carried his protest against the ritualism of the Bráhmanas even further than the authors of the Upanishads by ignoring the Vedas.

Amicable relations between Buddhism and Hinduism.

But during the lifetime of Gautama, and for a long time afterwards, it is doubtful if the divergence of his system from that of Bráhmanism was fully seen. For at least ten centuries Buddhism prospered side by side with Hinduism. Buddha respected, and was respected by, Bráhmans as well as by the members of his Order who were called Srámans. Some of the distinguished members of his Order were Bráhmans. Asoka Piyadasi, who did for Buddhism what Constantine did for Christianity, always considered Bráhmans and Srámans as equally deserving of reverence and liberality. Even so late as the time of Fa Hian and Hiouen Thsang, we find Buddhism and Hinduism flourishing side by side, and Buddhist princes lavishing gifts upon Bráhmans and Srámans alike.

Progress under Asoka.

Buddhism did not make much progress until the reign of Asoka about the middle of the 3rd century B.C. He sent Buddhist missionaries to outlying parts of India and to Bactria, Burma, Ceylon, and even to Egypt and Syria. His edicts engraved on rocks and pillars in various parts of India are "full of a lofty spirit of tolerance and righteousness." Benevolence, charity, kindness to relations and friends, mercy towards all animals and toleration are among the precepts inculcated in them.

(*b*) Pauranik Hinduism.

Origin of Pauranik Hinduism.

Side by side with Buddhism, a parallel movement was initiated by the Bráhmans themselves for the moral and spiritual amelioration of the lower classes. They perceived that the path of knowledge (Jnána-márga) was too difficult, and the idea of an all-pervading Eternal Being too abstract for the mass of the people whose conception of a deity is always more or less anthropomorphic, and who want worship not meditation. And they set themselves to gradually construct a synthetic religion out of the Aryan and the non-Aryan cults which would afford spiritual enlightenment and consolation to the general public. This is the vast system of idolatry dealt with in the Puránas, and may, on that account, be conveniently designated Pauránik Hin-

duism. The cardinal principle of this religion is Bhakti* (Faith or Love) not Jnána (Knowledge); and one of its characteristic features is the doctrine of Avatáras or incarnations of the Divinity. In Buddhism the sentiment of love is ennobled into altruism. In Pauránik Hinduism it is sanctified into faith.

Personal description of the Vedic deities does not imply idolatry.

The Aryans of the Vedic period were not image-worshippers. There are indeed suspicious texts. We read of Varuna as "arrayed in golden mail and surrounded by his messengers or angels," and as occupying along with Mitra, a "palace supported by a thousand columns." Similarly, the Maruts are described as adorned with rings and as having anklets on their feet, golden ornaments on their breasts and golden helmets on their heads. So also Agni is said to have golden teeth, a thousand eyes and a thousand horns. But such epithets are merely allegorical, and the allegory is in some cases fancifully mystified. The very extravagance of the expressions would militate against the hypothesis of image-worship. There is an abundance of texts which would make it apparent, that the A'ryas of the Vedic period in the personal descriptions of their deities had

* The principle of Bhakti is found in its most developed form in Vaishnavism. Chaitanya, the great Vaishnava reformer of Bengal, recognises five phases of Bhakti—*Sánti*, quietism; *Dásya*, Surrender of one's self to the service of God; *Sákhya*, friendship; *Vátsalya*, filial affection; and *Mádhurya* passionate attachment for the Diety.

no idols in view.* Such descriptions are evidently figurative. Had idolatry been prevalent during the Vedic period, it would have been in still greater force in the period immediately succeeding it, when a halo of sanctity had spread round the Vedas. But even so late as the time of the Manusamhitá, we find in that code only two passages† in which there is any reference to idolatry, and that too in such a manner as to leave no room for doubt that it was as yet confined to the Dasyus or the aborigines. The deities are still Vedic.‡ There is no mention of the gods and goddesses of the later Hindu pantheon. But in the Grihya Sútras we read of vulgar practices and vulgar superstitions; and in the Manusamhitá there are dark hints as to the existence of idols. The Aryans never persecuted the aborigines on account of their religion.§ According to

* The personal appearance of Indrá is described in several passages. He is frequently called *susípra*. His jaws are ruddy-coloured; his hair is of a golden hue, his arms are long and far-extended. But all our suspicions of the worship of Indra in his image are to some extent removed by several other passages, where his forms are said to be endless. In one passage, Agni is described as footless and headless; elsewhere he is said to have three heads. Had an image of the fire-god been present before the Rishis, it is not likely that its descriptions would have been so diametrically opposite.

† Manu III. 152; IV. 130.

‡ Manu I. 11, 50.

§ The breaker of images is ordained to be fined in the Manusamhitá (ix. 285). But the Bráhmans who attend on them are to be shunned in Sráddhas.

their code of national morality, the deities adored in a conquered country are to be respected, and the laws of the conquered nations are to be maintained.*

Saivism.

From A'ryavarta in Northern India, the Aryans gradually extended southward. From the mention in the Manusamhitá, of Paundrakas, Drávidas &c. as fallen Kshatriyas it would appear that the partial Aryanisation of these people had been effected by the time of the composition of that work. In the edicts of Asoka, three Dravidian kingdoms of Southern India, Pándya, Chola, and Kerala are referred to. The aborigines of the South, were not devoid of the elements of civilization. The A'ryas settled amongst them as friendly colonists, not as conquerors, and their influence was owing chiefly to their moral and intellectual superiority. They, however, succeeded in establishing their supremacy all the more securely, and the Dravidians were incorporated with their society as Súdras. The original faith of these aborigines appears to have been a form of demonolatry similar to the Shamanism of High Asia.† It is a worship of evil spirits by means of bloody sacrifices and frantic dances, its objects being not gods or heroes, but demons, cruel, revengeful and capricious. The Aryanisation of the aborigines gradually reacted

* Manu, VII. 201-203.

† Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages," second edition, pp. 579ff; the favourite deities of the Hinduised Gonds (Dravidian) are Siva and Bhaváni.

upon the original religious system of the A'ryas. It is probable that the different forms of demonolatry prevalent amongst the various sections of the aborigines, especially the Dravidians of the South, shaped, moulded and refined by Aryan thought, gave rise to Saivism.* It is conjectured by Lassen and Stevenson, that the phallic emblem "may have been at first an object of veneration among the aboriginal or non-Aryan Indians ; and that it was subsequently adopted by the Bráhmans from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra."†

We find in the Atharva-veda, Rudra, the Storm-God of the Rigveda, gradually gaining in importance and appearing oftener in the terrible than in the beneficent aspect of his nature. He is invoked as lord of life and death ; and his indentification with Agni, the Fire-God, as the author of destruction, is more frequent. In the Yajur-veda, he receives the appellations of Isána, I'svara, and Mahádeva, the "Great God," the name by which he is still most popularly known. So far, however, there is nothing that throws much light on his transformation into the great popular god known under this name ; there is, however, one hymn

* The traditions of the Gonds (a Dravidian tribe inhabiting a large area in Central India) relate how after they were born they lived at Dhavalágiri, the seat of Mahádeva. Bose, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. LIX, pt. I, pp. 276 ff.

† Muir's "Original Sanskrit Texts" (1873), Vol. IV. pp. 406-407.

in the Yajurveda that does, at least to some extent. In it his popular and non-Aryan origin is scarcely veiled. He is represented as the patron of carpenters, smiths, watermen, hunters, thieves, robbers, and beggars.

We do not know the exact steps which led to the transformation of the Vedic Rudra into the Mahádeva of later Hinduism. It was an accomplished fact in the earlier centuries of the Christian Era. The Indian Dionysos of Megasthenes is usually indentified with Siva. Sivaite figures alternating with Buddhist symbols are represented on coins of the Indo-Scythian kings about the beginning of the Christian Era. Siva is the great patron of the ancient dramatic and other literatures. He is represented in a twofold character—the terror-inspiring and the beneficent. He is the Auspicious, as well as the Terrible. His wife also appears in similar double character. She is Umá, the gracious, and Ambiká, the good mother, as well as Kálí, the black one, Karálá, the horrible. In these two-fold aspects we trace, however indistinctly, the fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan conceptions of the Divinity, the former beneficent and lovable, the latter destructive and terrible. Against this hypothesis of the mixed origin of Siva, it may be urged, that though there are probably more temples dedicated to him than to his rival Vishnu, and though the most ancient renowned temples such as those of Somnáth and Visvesvara are appro-

* Muir's "Original Sanskrit Texts" (1873), Vol. IV., pp. 326 ff.

priated to him, his worship is by no means popular. In fact, at the present day, he is worshipped chiefly by the higher caste Hindus. His temples at Benares are the only Siva temples which attract pilgrims on a large scale. His unpopularity may, however, be accounted for, at least partially, by the fact of his remaining in the emblematic form of the phallic *linga*, whilst the rival divinities, including his consort, assumed forms more attractive to the popular mind.

Vaishnavism.

The genesis of Vishnu, and of his various Avatáras, is still more obscure than that of Siva. In the Rigveda, Vishnu is a name of the Sun-God, a deity indeed of sovereign rank, but a rank which he occupies in common with other deities. But there is no indication even in later Vedic literature of the supremacy enjoyed by him or rather by his Avatára, Krishna, in later Hinduism. "Krishna, the son of Devaki" is indeed mentioned in an ancient Upanishad, but only as the disciple of a sage.* In the Mahábhárata, however, he is the great man-God, the incarnation of Vishnu.* The steps which led to this popularisation of the Vedic Vishnu were probably similar to those which led to the popularisation of the Vedic Rudra. But we can only guess, as the evidence on the subject is very inconclusive. As early as the second century before the Christian Era, the story

* The Vishnu of later Hinduism retains but little of the solar character of the Vishnu of the Vedic system, except in such symbols as the *Chakra*.

of Krishna was the subject of popular dramatic representations. The Indian Hercules, the worship of whom is referred to by Megasthenes, ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, King of Magadha, has been indentified, though conjecturally, with Krishna.

The earliest authentic references to the existence of Saivism and Vaishnavism carry us back about a century or two before the Christian Era. This was also the time when those changes which converted the Hínáyana into Mahâyana were creeping over Buddhism. It should be noted that it was about this time, that an important political revolution took place which found a good portion of Northern India in the occupation of Turanian or Scythian races.

Later Buddhism an essentially non-Aryan form of faith.

Buddhism as it spread amongst these people did not supersede their coarse superstitions but was simply engrafted on them. Its tacit disregard of caste made it highly acceptable to the Scythians or Turanians of the North who looked upon that institution with aversion. They professed Buddhism but retained their vulgar superstitions. The consequence was, that the noble system of Gautama, which as propounded by him embodied some of the noblest results of Aryan culture and Aryan thought in India, began soon after the reign of Asoka to be transformed into some of the grossest forms of Scythian idolatry. In Tibet it was deformed into Lamaism "a religion not only in many points different from, but

actually antagonistic to the primitive system of Buddhism." An infinity of absurd legends gathered round the Buddha. His image and relics were devoutly worshipped. But the inborn Turanian love for idolatry did not stop with the worship of the Buddha. A host of other deities were created, and a debasing belief in charms and incantations, which had been the special object of Gautama's scorn, began to grow vigorously.

About the commencement of the Christian Era, a competition arose between Buddhism on the one hand, and Vaishnavism and Saivism on the other. They were probably all different forms of aboriginal idolatry modified and elevated by Aryan culture. But there was an essential difference between the Buddhistic and the Hinduite groups of religion. The former denied the supremacy of the Bráhmans by their disregard for caste system, and their denial of the authority of the Vedas. Hinduism, on the other hand, was created, fostered, and patronised by the Bráhmans. In all its different forms the Bráhman influence is prominent. But Buddhism, struck at the root of Bráhman ascendancy. It could not have survived long but for the patronage of powerful princes. In the earlier centuries of the Christian Era, the predominance of Hinduism or Buddhism became a question of vital importance to the Bráhmans. Men like Kumárila Bhatta* entered into a vigorous contest

* Kumárila lived about the middle of the 8th century.

with the opponents of the sacred books of the A'ryas. The Aryan intellect was still in its full vigour, and the Aryan cause eventually won the day. When Fa Hian visited India (A.D. 400) Bráhman priests and temples were scarcely less numerous than Srámans and monasteries. At the time of Hiouen Thsang (A.D. 629-648) Buddhism was on the decline. But Hinduism had by that time absorbed and assimilated all that was best in Buddhism, and Buddha had been recognised by it as an incarnation of divinity. It was still the accepted religion of Magadha; but at Kányakubja, the then capital of that empire, there were two hundred temples against one hundred Buddhist monasteries. Srávasti and Kapilavástu were heaps of ruins; and at Benares there were thirty Sangháramas against one hundred temples. Síláditya, the great Buddhist monarch, patronised the Hindu forms of faith. The contest went on for a few centuries longer. When Buddhism lost the support of kings, it could not stand any longer. In the twelfth century there were scarcely any Buddhists left in India; modern Hinduism as inculcated in the Bhagavatgítá, the Puránas and the Tantras became paramount.

Ultimate victory of Hinduism.

(*c*) Ethical Development.

We have seen before how lofty was the ethical standard set up by the Emperor Asoka after his conversion to Buddhism. He did not stop with preaching. He did his best to

Moral progress under Asoka.

translate his precepts into action. He showed his tenderness for animals by eschewing flesh food altogether. He built hospitals, provided medicines for men as well as for animals, planted trees along the highways in order that they may afford shade to beasts and wayfarers, caused wells to be dug every mile, and erected resting houses for the repose of men and of animals. He was so deeply moved by the war he had to wage against Kalinga, that he forswore war altogether. He declared, that "the loss of even the hundredth or the thousandth part of the persons who were slain, carried away captive, or done to death in Kalinga would now be a matter of deep regret to His Majesty." "The chiefest conquest, he declares, is that won by the Law of Piety, and he begs his descendants to rid themselves of the popular notion that conquest by arms is the duty of kings ; and, even if they should find themselves engaged in warfare, he reminds them that they might still find pleasure in patience and gentleness, and should regard as the only true conquest that which is effected through the Law of Piety."* "It is my duty" says the Emperor in an Edict, "to procure by my instructions the good of the public ; and in incessant activity and the proper administration of justice lies the root of public good and nothing is more efficacious than this. All my endeavours have but

* V. A. Smith's "Early History of India," p. 138. R. C. Dutt's "History of Civilization in Ancient India"—Vol. II. pp. 6-21.

this one object,—to pay this debt to my people! I render them as happy as possible here below; may they obtain happiness hereafter in heaven!"* "It is true," says the noble hearted Emperor in another Edict, "that the prevalence of essential virtues differs in different sects. But, there is a common basis, and that is gentleness and moderation in language. Thus one should not exalt ones own sect and decry the others; one should not deprecate them without cause, but should render them on every occasion the honour which they deserve. Striving thus one promotes the welfare of his own sect while serving the others."†

That the lofty ethical standard of the Emperor Asoka was not an exception is abundantly proved by the laws, the customs and the literature (Buddhist as well as Hindu) of the period under review, and by the testimony of cultured foreigners.

Laxity of morals during the first stage.

We have seen before to what extent the Indo-Aryans during the first stage of their civilization were addicted to drinking, eating flesh food and to such vices as gambling. There would also appear to have been considerable laxity of sexual morality. One of the Rig-vedic Rishis solemnly prays to Pushan to protect him on his journey and provide him with a supply of fair

* Rock Edict VI.

† Rock Edict XII.

damsels.* Vyása, than whose name there is none more venerable in Sanskrit literature, and many of the heroes of the Mahábhárata† are represented as not having been born in wedlock. The traditions regarding them, and such legends as those of Dírghatamas and his mother Mamatá‡ and of Svetaketu, son of Uddálaka, and his mother,§ when divested of their poetical and supernatural elements, testify to a looseness of sexual morals quite unknown in later times. The memory of a time when the Indo-Aryans were not particularly restrained by principles of sexual morality such as began to prevail in Hindu society from the later Vedic period, is abundantly preserved in the Mahábhárata.‖ The following extracts from the Harivamsa describing a seaside picnic given by Krishna hardly require any comment :

"Having thus issued his orders to the sea, he [Krishna] commenced to play with Arjuna, while Satyabhámá, incited by a wink of Krishna, began to throw water on Nárada. Then Balaráma, tottering with drink, with great glee fell into the water, and beckon-

* R. V., IX., 67, 10.

† Dhritaráshtra, Pándu, Yudhishthira, Bhìma, Arjuna, Nakula, Sahadava, Karna, Drona &c. Some god or other was the father of every one of these warriors. And it is possible to suppose that they were represented as god-descended to increase their importance. But, in that case, Krishna, the greatest of the heroes of antiquity, should have been represented as god-descended also.

‡ Mahábhárata, A'diparva, Ch. 104.

§ Mahábhárata, A'diparva, Ch. 122.

‖ Pándu gravely teaches his wife, Kuntí, that wives may do as they like except at certain times !—Mahábhárata, A'diparva, Ch. 122.

ing the charming daughter of Revata by his side, took her by the hand. The sons of Krishna and the leading Bhaimas, who belonged to the party of Ráma, joyous and bent on pleasure, unmindful of their dresses and ornaments, and excited by drink, followed him to the sea. The Bhaimas belonging to the party of Krishna headed by Nishatha, and Ulmuka, arrayed in many-coloured garments and rich jewels and bedecked with garlands of *párijáta* flowers, with bodies painted with sandal-wood paste and unguents, excited by wine, and carrying aquatic musical instruments in their hands, began to sing songs appropriate for the occasion. By order of Krishna, hundreds of courtesans, led by the heavenly Apsarases played various pleasing tunes on water and other instruments. * * * Krishna and Nárada, with all those who were on their side, began to pelt water on Bala and his party; and they in their turn did the same on the party of Krishna. The wives of Bala and Krishna, excited by libations of *arrack* [a strong spirituous liquor] followed their example, and squirted water in great glee with syringes in their hands. Some of the Bhaima ladies, over-weighted by the load both of love and wine, with crimson eyes and masculine garbs, entertained themselves before the other ladies, squirting water."*

Puritanic movement in the third stage.

Bacchanalian scenes like these produced a violent revulsion of feeling towards the close of the second stage. A puritanic movement then set in which was of a very comprehensive nature. Reformers are usually

* Harivamsa quoted in Rájendra Lál Mitra's "Indo-Aryans" Vol. I. pp. 439-440. Harivamsa was written long after the time of Krishna; and there can be no doubt, that the poet in the description cited above has given full play to his imagination. It must be presumed, however, that he depicts the manners and customs of the time he describes with some approach to faithfulness.

extremists; and the reformers we are speaking of were no exception to this rule. Intoxicating drinks were interdicted. Gautama Buddha said: "The householder who delights in the law should not indulge in intoxicating drinks, should not cause others to drink, should not sanction the acts of those who drink, knowing that it results in insanity." Lawgivers like Manu placed the drinking of spirituous liquors in the category of the most heinous sins, and prescribed the most awful penances for them. Dancing and singing, which were associated with drinking, fell into disrepute. Meat-eating was greatly discouraged. "Meat can never be obtained" says an old Sútrakára "without injuring living beings, and to injure living beings does not procure heavenly bliss." Gambling which, like drinking, was a fruitful source of crime and misery in the earlier Vedic period was anathematised. Manu enjoined corporal punishment for gambling and betting.

A high standard of chastity was established. It was for the maintenance of this standard, that the males among the Dvijas (the higher or "twice-born" castes) were subjected to a rigorous course of discipline.

Restrictions upon food and drink were also the result of the earnest movement of reformation to which we have just referred. The bill of fare of the earlier Vedic period was a very comprehensive one; it included beef and other articles forbidden at the present day. Its gradual contraction, as regards animal food, was, however, not solely due to the sublime tenderness for animal life

so eloquently preached by Buddha, but also to economic, hygienic, and æsthetic considerations. An agricultural people like the Indo-Aryans could not have been long in being deeply impressed with the immense usefulness of the cow. They must also have soon found out the unsuitability of beef as an article of food in a hot climate like that of India. That hygienic and æsthetic considerations must have weighed with the Aryan law-givers in their interdiction of domestic pigs and domestic fowls is proved by the fact that the flesh of wild pigs and of wild fowls is permitted.

Ethical development as reflected in literature—the Bhagavat-gi'ta'.

The lofty ethical and spiritual ideals of the third stage of Hindu civilization—the loftiest as yet attained by man—are reflected in the literature of the period, Buddhist as well as Hindu, and in none better than in a most remarkable work, the Bhagavatgítá,* one of the few immortal works the world has yet produced which, as guides to ethical and spiritual culture, still remain unsurpassed. The good man of the Gítá is characterised by "fearlessness, cleanness of life, steadfastness in Yoga almsgiving, self-restraint and sacrifice, study of scripture, austerity and straight-forwardness, harmlessness, truth, absence of wrath, renunciation, peacefulness, absence of crookedness, compassion to living beings,

* The probable date of this work is the third century B.C. It is, however, one of the many debatable points of Indian history.

uncovetousness, mildness, modesty, absence of fickleness, vigour, forgiveness, fortitude, purity, absence of envy and pride."* He must be "without attachment and egoism, balanced in pleasure and pain, and forgiving, ever content, harmonious, with the self controlled, resolute and with mind and reason dedicated to God."† He must do his duty for the sake of duty renouncing all fruit of action. "He who performeth a prescribed action, saying 'it ought to be done,' relinquishing attachment and also fruit, that relinquishment is regarded as pure. The relinquisher pervaded by purity, intelligent, and with doubts cut away, hateth not unpleasurable action, nor is attached to pleasurable." Action which is done "by one longing for desires, or again with egoism" is strongly deprecated, and action done by one "liberated from attachment, not egoistic, endued with firmness and confidence, and unchanged by success or failure" is as strongly commended. The good man is "selfless and peaceful" and casts aside "egoism, violence, arrogance, desire, wrath, and covetousness. He is serene in the Self, "neither grieveth nor desireth, and is the same to all beings."‡

Testimony of foreigners to Hindu morality.

That Hindu ethical aspirations were not confined to literature and inscriptions but were to a large extent realised by the people in their lives is testified to by intelligent foreigners (Greeks and Chinese) who sojourn-

* XVI. 1—3. † XII. 13, 14.
‡ XVIII. 9, 10, 24, 26, 53, 54.

ed in India long enough to be able to form a correct estimate of its condition. Megasthenes who, as the ambassador of Seleucus, lived in the court of the Emperor Chandragupta at Pataliputra (modern Patna) between 317 and 312 B.C. speaks of the Indians as "living happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifices...The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges and deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded...Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. Hence they accord no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom." Megasthenes further says, that the Indians did not "even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own," and that thefts were very rare. During the time "he resided in Chandragupta's camp containing 400,000 persons, the total of the thefts reported in any one day did not exceed two hundred drachmai, or about eight pounds starling," and he "noted with surprise and admiration, that the husbandmen could pursue their calling in peace, while the professional soldiers of hostile kings engaged in battle." There was a department of the state which looked after the interests of foreigners. They were "provided suitable lodgings, escorts, and, in case of need, medical

attendance. Deceased strangers were decently buried, and their estates were administered by the Commissioners, who forwarded the assets to the persons entitled."*

The Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian who travelled in India for nearly three years about 400 A.D., says speaking of the Madhyadesa (middle India): "The people are very well off, without poll tax or official restrictions; only those who till the royal lands return a portion of profit of the land. If they desire to go, they go; if they like to stop, they stop. The kings govern without corporal punishment; criminals are fined according to circumstances, lightly or heavily. Even in cases of repeated rebellion, they only cut off the right hand.....Throughout the country the people kill no living thing, nor drink wine, nor do they eat garlic or onions with the exception of Chandálas only.... ...They have no shambles or wine shops in their market places. The Chandálas only hunt and sell flesh." In regard to the charitable dispensaries of the town of Pataliputra, Fa Hian says: "The nobles and house-holders of this country have founded hospitals within the city to which the poor of all countries, the destitute, cripple, and the diseased may repair. They receive every kind of requisite help gratuitously. Physicians inspect their diseases, and according to their cases, order them food or drink, medicine or decoctions, everything in

* Vincent Smith's "Early History of India," pp. 120, 123.

fact that may contribute to their ease. When cured they depart at their convenience." *

Houen Tsang, the most eminent of the Chinese travellers, lived in India for a number of years from about 630 A.D. to about 644 A.D., and has left a most valuable account of the state of India at the time. He found Hindus and Buddhists living peaceably together. Harsha Siláditya, the greatest King of the period, was a Hindu, but leaned towards Buddhism towards the latter part of his reign (606 to 648 A.D.) He had a great religious assembly at Kanauj which was attended alike by Buddhist monks and Bráhman and Jain priests. Harsha proceeded from Kanauj to Prayága (Alláhábád). "It had been his practice for thirty years past, in accordance with the custom of his ancestors, to hold a great quinquennial assembly on the sands where the rivers meet, and there to distribute his accumulated treasures to the poor and needy, as well as to the religious of all denominations.....The assembly was attended by all the vassal kings and a vast concourse of humbler folk estimated to number half a million, including poor, orphaned, and destitute persons, besides especially invited Bráhmans and ascetics of every sect from all parts of Northern India. The proceedings lasted for seventy-five days, terminating apparently about the end of April, and were opened by an imposing procession of all the Rájás with their

* R. C. Dutt, "Civilization in Ancient India," Vol. II., pp. 56, 59.

retinues. The religious services were of the curiously eclectic kind characteristic of the times. On the first day an image of Buddha was set up in one of the temporary thatched buildings upon the sands, and vast quantities of costly clothing and other articles of value were distributed. On the second and third days respectively, the images of the Sun and Siva were similarly honoured, but the accompanying distribution in each case was only half the amount of that consecrated to Buddha. The fourth day was devoted to the bestowal of gifts on ten thousand selected religious persons of the Buddhist order, who each received one hundred gold coins, a pearl, and a cotton garment, besides choice food, drink, flowers and perfumes. During the next following twenty days, the great multitude of Brâhmanas were the receipients of the royal bounty. They were succeeded by the people whom the Chinese author calls 'heretics' that is to say, Jains and members of sundry sects, who received gifts for the space of ten days. A like period was allotted for the bestowal of alms upon mendicants from distant regions ; and a month was occupied in the distribution of charitable aid to poor, orphaned, and destitute persons. 'By this time,' says Houen Tsang, 'the accumulation of five years was exhausted. Except the horses, elephants and military accoutrements, which were necessary for maintaining order and protecting the royal estate, nothing remained. Besides these the king freely gave away his gems and goods,

his clothing and necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets, chaplets, neck-jewel, and bright head-jewel, all these he freely gave without stint. All being given away, he begged from his sister (Rájyasri) an ordinary second-hand garment, and having put it on, he paid worship to the Buddhas of the ten regions, and rejoiced that his treasure had been bestowed in the field of religious merit.'"* Houen Tsang bears testimony to the simplicity and rectitude of the people. "Although," says he, "they are naturally lightminded, yet they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of the things of the present world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful to their oaths and promises."

(*d*) Intellectual Progress.

The intellectual development of the last stage was continued. But the intellect was cultivated chiefly with a view to culture and was not much concerned with politics or the useful arts and industries.

Hindu idealism.

The systems of philosophy, especially the Vedánta, which, of all the systems has influenced Hindu life most, made the Hindus markedly idealistic. They, especially the cultur-

* Vincent's "Early History of India," pp. 296-297.

ed classes among them, have never taken any very keen interest in the realities of life. This notable trait in their character is reflected in their arts and literature.

The literature of the Hindus rich in every other branch of human knowledge is poor in history. The material for the political history of India during the pre-Mahomedan period has to be gleaned chiefly from foreign sources such as the accounts of the Greek and the Chinese travellers. The dearth of the historical literature among the Hindus is due to idealism. There have been many political revolutions in India, many wars and invasions. But there are few records of them which may be called history. Even such important events as the invasion of Alexander and that of the Huns were hardly noticed. When we have a record of any great war like that between the Kurus and the Pándavas, the real is intermingled with the ideal and the imaginary in an inextricable tangle : heroes and heroines of the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata, Sri Krishna and Arjuna, Ráma and Yudhisthira, Prahláda and Dhruva, Sítá and Sávitri, were embodied ideals of Wisdom, Duty, Bravery, Virtue, Devotion and Chastity. The Hindus never stopped to inquire whether they actually lived in the flesh or not. To them the legendary heroes and heroines are as real as any whose deeds are recorded in authentic history. India has produced many poets of the first rank, but not one of them has excelled in portraying life as it is.

Scienctific progress.

As a result of his idealism the Hindu excelled in the deductive and abstract sciences and paid but little attention to the inductive and concrete sciences. Nearly all the branches of mathematical science were carried to a very high stage of development. The motion of the solstitial and equinoctial points was noticed by A'ryabhata who was born in A. D. 476. He was also acquainted with the true theory of lunar and solar eclipses, as well as with the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis. The ratio of the diameter to the circumference was given by him as 3·141, which is as near an approximation to modern calculations as we could reasonably expect. Before the close of the seventh century, there arose two other mathematicians of note, Varáhamihira and Brahmagupta. The former is known as the author of the Panchasiddhántiká (a compilation from five older astronomical works) and the Brihatsamhitá. The latter, which has been translated by Dr. Kern, is a work of great magnitude dealing not only with subjects strictly appertaining to astronomy, but also with various miscellaneous matters such as portents, gardening, house-building, precious stones, furniture &c. &c. Brahmagupta who wrote about A. D. 628 is best known as the author of the Brahmasphutasiddhánta. It comprises twenty-one chapters ; "of which the first ten contain an astronomical system consisting, 1st and 2nd, of the computation of mean motions and true places of the planets ; 3rd, solution of problems concerning time, the

point of the horizon, and the position of places; 4th and 5th, calculation of lunar and solar eclipses; 6th, rising and setting of the planets; 7th, position of the moon's cusps; 8th, observation of altitudes by the gnomon; 9th, conjunction of the planets; and 10th, their conjunction with stars. The next ten are supplementary, including five chapters of problems with their solutions; and the twenty-first explains the principles of the astronomical system in a compendious treatise on spherics, treating of the astronomical sphere and its circles, the construction of sines, the rectification of the apparent planet from mean motions, the cause of lunar and solar eclipses, and the construction of the armillary sphere."*

Medical sciences.

The progress of the medical sciences kept pace with that of the others. The oldest writer whose works have come down to us is Charaka. He is referred to by Serapion, one of the

* "Algebra &c. of Brahmagupta and Bhascara" by H. T. Colebrooke, 1817, pp. xxviii.-xxix.

The points in which the Hindu Algebra of Brahmagupta and Bhâscara appears distinguished from the Greek are besides a better and more convenient algorithm:—

(1) The management of equations involving more than one unknown quantity.

(2) The resolution of equations of a higher order in which if the Hindus achieved little, they had at least the merit of the attempt.

(3) General method for the solution of indeterminate problems of the first and second degrees, in which they went far beyond Diophantus and anticipated discoveries of the modern algebraists.

earliest of the Arab physicians as well as by Avicenna and Rhazes.* Avicenna acknowledges his obligations to Indian authorities. Numerous drugs of Indian origin are noticed by the Greeks previous to the Arab authors. It is even supposed that Hippocrates derived assistance from the Hindus. Prof. Dietz has shewn that the Arabians were familiar with the Hindu medicaments, and extolled the healing art as practised by the Indians, quite as much as that in use among the Greeks ; that a variety of treatises on medical science were translated from the Sanskrit into Persian and Arabic, particularly the more important compilations of Charaka and Susruta ; and that two Indian physicians, Manka and Saleh, the former of whom translated a special treatise on poison into Persian, held appointments as body physicians to Harun-al-Rashid [eighth century A.D.]†

Chemistry forms one of the eight divisions in which the treatise of Charaka is divided. There is but little doubt that the Arabians derived their knowledge of this subject from the works of the ancient Hindus ;

(4) The application of Algebra to astronomical and geometrical demonstrations, in which they also hit upon some matters which have been re-invented in more modern times. There are good grounds for considering Bhásca.áchárya (about the middle of the 12th century A.D.) as the "precursor of Newton in the discovery of the principle of the differential calculus as well as in its applications to astronomical problems and computations."

* Dr. Royle's "Essay on the Antiquity of Hindu Medicine" pp. 37-38."

† Royle's "Antiquity of Hindu Medicine," p. 64.

and as the originals were unknown in Europe they got the credit of being the discoverers.* The chemical skill of the Indo-Aryans was remarkable. They knew how to prepare muriatic, nitric and sulphuric acids. "The number of metals which the Hindus" says Royle "were familiar with, and their acquaintance with the various processes of solution, evaporation, calcination, sublimation and distillation, prove the extent of their knowledge of chemistry, and the high antiquity of some of the chemical arts, such as bleaching, dyeing, calico-printing, tanning, soap and glass-making."

"The oxides of several metals as of copper, iron, lead, tin and zinc, they were well acquainted with and used medicinally. Of lead, we find mention of both the red oxide and of litharge. With the sulphurets of iron, copper, antimony, mercury, and arsenic, both realgar and orpiment, they have long been familiar. Among the salts of the metals, we find the sulphates of copper, of zinc, and of iron, and of the latter the red distinguished from the green : the diacetate of copper, and the carbonates, of lead and of iron, are not only mentioned in their works, but used medicinally."†

Medicines were derived by the Hindus from the vegetable and animal, as well as the mineral kingdom. Susruta describes a very large number of medicines prepared from plants. Various animals and animal sub-

* Royle's "Antiquity of Hindu Medicine," pp. 40 ff.

† Royle's "Antiquity of Hindu Medicine," pp. 43-44.

stances were utilised as medicines : skins, nails, hair, blood, flesh, bones, fat, marrow, bile, milk, urine, dung, &c. The Hindus were perhaps the first who had the boldness to apply mineral drugs internally. Among the minerals used in medicine are mica, diamond and other precious stones, brimstone, ammonia &c. The metals employed by physicians of the time of Susruta were gold, mercury, silver, copper, lead, tin, zinc, antimony, iron and arsenic. The doctrine of antidotes is treated of by both Charaka and Susruta.

Surgery had early attained a high stage of development. The ancient Hindus were bold and expert surgeons, and performed some of the most difficult operations, such as lithotomy, extraction of the dead fœtus, paracentesis, thoracis and abdominis, &c. The great variety of surgical instruments, as well of astringent or emollient applications, bandages, &c., proves the nicety and care which they displayed in this branch of the medical science.*

The subjects treated of in the works of Charaka and Susruta are much the same ; but surgery is the speciality of the latter as medicine is that of the former. The work of Susruta is divided into six books each of which is subdivided into various chapters. The first book treats principally of preliminary matters such as the requisites for surgical practice, the mode of visiting and observing the sick, and the classifications of diseases and of medi-

* Wise's "Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine," pp. 157 ff.

cines. The second book deals with the diseases of the nervous system, hæmorrhoids, calculus in the bladder, fistula in anus, skin diseases, urinary disorders, erysipelas, elephantiasis &c. The third book treats of the anatomy of the human body, the management of pregnancy and parturition, the treatment of infants &c. In the fourth book, such matters as inflammation, wounds, ulcers, stone in the bladder, lithotomy and diabetes are dealt with. The fifth book treats of the preservation of food and drink from poison ; the vegetable, animal and mineral poisons ; snake-bites, and bites of dogs, jackals and of insects, &c.*

General literature.

The general literature of the period boasts of names quite as great as any connected with the sciences. It is noteworthy, however, that drama flourished towards the close of the period after the sciences had attained maturity, in fact while they (with the single exception of mathematics) were either stationary or already on the decline. Kálidása, Bhárávi, Bhartrihari, Dandin, Bánabhatta, Bhavabhúti, all wrote between the sixth and the eighth centuries. Their poetry, however, is different from that of the first stage of Hindu civilization during the Rigvedic period. It reflected to a large extent the intelectual, ethical and spiritual culture of the time. That the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata existed in crude forms long before the Christian era, there can be no doubt. But they received their final touches probably not long before the commencement of that era. One reason of

such high development of Sanskrit poetry during that period probably is, that it was then that Hindu mythology such as we know it now took shape ; and Hindu mythology is the perennial source from which our great poets, ancient as well as modern, have drawn their subjects. Ráma and Sitá, Nala and Damayantí, Mahádeva and Umá who are among the heroes and heroines of Kálidása, Bhavabhúti and other great poets are scarcely known in the Vedic, or the earlier part of the philosophical period ; or, if known, the beautiful legends associated with them had not yet sprung up. The Vedic cults, Bráhmanism and Vedántism, were ill calculated to inspire poetry, because the former was a dry creed of rites and ceremonies, and the latter, though far nobler and far more philosophic, was, nevertheless, an equally dry creed of salvation by meditation. The rationalism of the earlier portion of the philosophical period, while it furthered the development of the sciences, retarded the growth of *belles letters*. Poetry began to shine forth in all its glory, as modern Hinduism arose with its myths and legends about gods and goddesses.

Laws.

The laws of a people are a good index of their intellectual and ethical condition. The laws of the period under review as preserved in the Manusamhitá show an immense advance upon those of the Vedic period as preserved in the Bráhmanas or even in the Dharma Sútras.* Trial

* The existing Dharmasútras belong to the very close of the first stage or the beginning of the second. The date of the Manusamhitá may

by ordeal prevailed in Vedic times. "They bring a man hither whom they have taken by the hand, and they say: 'he has taken something, he has committed theft.' (When he denies, they say); 'Heat the hatchet for him.' Then he grasps the heated hatchet, if he is not burnt, he is delivered." Though this barbarous form of trial appears to have been abolished by the close of the Vedic period, the judicial procedure appears still to have been very rude. In the Dharma Sútras of Gautama, the thief is directed to appear before the king with flying hair, holding a club in his hand and proclaiming his deed. If the king pardons him and does not slay him or strike him, the guilt falls on the king.

But in the Manusamhitá the forms of judicial procedure are laid down in a manner such as to extort the admiration even of James Mill who was prejudiced to a degree against everything Hindu. "They display," says Mill, "a degree of excellence not only far beyond itself in the other branches of law, but far beyond what is exemplified in more enlightened countries."* One of the most important objects which the judicature should have in view is the avoidance of delay; and this object is secured by a number of wise regulations.† Cases brought

be approximately given as about a century or two before or after Christ.

* "History of British India." I.

† Manu, VIII, 58 ff.

before a tribunal are to be thoroughly investigated. A plaintiff who having knowingly called a witness disclaims him, or who consciously, contradicts himself, who does not prove what he has alleged, or who declines answering a question properly put is declared to be nonsuited. The witnesses are to be assembled in the middle of the court-room, and the judge is to examine them after having addressed in the following manner: "What ye know to have been transacted in the matter before us, between the parties reciprocally, disclose at large and with truth." A scale is laid down for the punishment of perjured witnesses. If a witness speaks falsely through covetousness or terror or friendship, he is to be fined 1000 *panas*; if through distraction of mind, 250; if through lust, 2500; if through wrath, 1500; if through ignorance, 200; if through inattention 100.*

The civil laws indicate, on the whole a high stage of progress. They are treated under twelve heads: non-payment of debts, deposits and pledges, sale without ownership, partnership, resumption of gifts, non-payment of wages, non-performance of agreements, rescission of sale and purchase, disputes between owners of cattle and servants, disputes about boundaries, altercation between husband and wife, and inheritance.† The idea of property and the different modes of its

* Manu, VIII, 120-121.

† Manu, VIII, 4-7.

acquisition by possession, by purchase, contract, labour, donation, and inheritance, are clearly comprehended.

(*e*) ARTS, MANUFACTURES, AND TRADE.

Architecture and Sculpture.

The arts and manufactures were carried to a high stage of development during the period under review. The earliest specimens of Indian architecture and sculpture which have come down to us are Buddhistic. They consist of *Viháras* (monasteries), *Chaityas*, *Stúpas* (topes erected to commemorate some sacred event), Rails (which often surround the stúpas) and Stone pillars (*Láts*). There are some archæologists who have detected foreign influence in some of these works of art. But Dr. Fergusson speaking of the rail of Bharhut (200 B.C.) says: "It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the art here displayed is purely indigenous. There is absolutely no trace of Egyptian influence. It is in every detail antagonistic to that art. Nor is there any trace of classical art; nor can it be affirmed that anything here established could have been borrowed directly from Babylonia or Assyria."* The same writer observes in regard to the earlier examples of Indian sculpture: "When Hindu sculpture first dawns upon us in the rails of Buddha Gaya and Bharhut B.C. 200 to 250, it is thoroughly original, absolutely without a trace of foreign influence, but quite capable of ex-

* "Indian and Eastern Architecture," p. 89.

pressing its ideas, and of telling its story with a distinctness that never was surpassed, at least in India. Some animals, such as elephants, deer, and monkeys, are better represented there than in any sculptures known in any part of the world ; so too are some trees, and the architectural details are cut with an elegance and precision which are very admirable. The human figures, too, though very different from our standard of beauty and grace, are truthful to nature, and where grouped together combine to express the action intended with singular felicity. For an honest, purpose-like pre-Raphælite kind of art, there is probably nothing much better to be found any where."

Spiritual culture in Hindu Art.

The spiritual culture of the third stage is well reflected in the Art of the period, especially during its latter part in the symbolic representation of Hindu deities and in Buddhist sculptures. "Indian art," observes Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, "is essentially religious. The conscious aim of Indian art is the intimation of Divinity. But the Infinite and Unconditioned cannot be expressed in finite terms ; and art, unable to pourtray Divinity unconditioned, and unwilling to be limited by the limitation of humanity, is in India dedicated to the representation of gods, who to finite man represent comprehensible aspects of an infinite whole."* In regard to the method of Indian art, the same writer

* "Essays in National Idealism," 27-28.

says : "It cannot be too clearly understood that the mere representation of nature is never the aim of Indian art. Probably no truly Indian sculpture has been wrought direct from a living model, or any religious painting has been copied from the life. Possibly no Hindu artist of the old schools ever drew from nature at all. His store of memory pictures, his power of visualisation and his imagination were for his purpose finer means ; for he desired to suggest the Idea behind sensuous appearance, not to give the detail of the seeming reality, that was in truth but *máyá*, illusion."*

Chemical and metallurgical industries.

The Hindus had during the period under consideration made considerable advance in the chemical and metallurgical industries. Varáhamihira who flourished early in the sixth century A. D., mentions several preparations of cements "strong as the thunderbolt," and of dyes, cosmetics and scents. He also refers to mechanical experts. India had already made three important discoveries which for a long time secured her a foremost place in the commercial world—(1) the preparation of fast dyes ; (2) the extraction of the principle of indigotin from the indigo plant ; and (3) the tempering of steel by advanced metallurgical processes.†

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

† The remarkable iron pillar near the Kutab Minar at Delhi may be given as an example of the admirable skill of the Hindus. It measures about 24 feet in length, and its diameter is 16 inches at the

Mining and manufacturing industries.

The emperor Chandragupta who was the contemporary of Seleucus Nikator had special departments of the state to superintend trade and mining and manufacturing industries. There was also a department for irrigation and another for roads. Travellers from Greece, Rome and China marvelled at the skill which the Indians displayed in their manufacturing industries. Offerings were made to the gods in the costliest of plate; armour and arms richly decorated with gold and silver, and costly jewellery and dresses of the finest web adorned the persons of the higher classes; and gems, rich brocades, and muslins of the most delicate workmanship found their way from India to the markets of China, Persia, Egypt and Rome. There are references in the Manusamhitá to vessels made not only of copper, iron, brass, pewter, tin, and lead, but also of gold and silver. Household utensils made of leather, cane, horn, shells, and ivory were not uncom-

base and 12 inches at the capital. Its probable date is about the fifth century. "It opens our eyes," says Dr. Fergusson, "to an unsuspected state of affairs to find the Hindús at that age forging a bar of iron larger than any that have been forged even in Europe to a very late date, and not frequently even now. As we find them, however, a few centuries afterwards using bars as long as this Lát in roofing the arch of the temple at Karnak, we must believe, that they were much more familiar with the use of this metal than they afterwards became. It is almost equally startling to find that after an exposure to wind and rain for fourteen centuries, it is unrusted, and the capital and inscription are as clear and as sharp now as when put up fourteen centuries ago."

mon. From the frequent mention of gems and ornaments made of the precious metals, as well as from the tax levied upon them, they seem to have been in no small demand. Perfumes, honey, iron, indigo, lac, medical substances, wax, sugar, spices &c. formed some of the ordinary articles of trade. There are references not only to clothes made of cotton and jute, but also to silk and woollen manufactures. Carriages, waggons and boats are mentioned among ordinary conveyances. Trade was chiefly inland. But, from the law relating to bottomry and other allusions to navigation, it is evident that there was sea-borne trade also on a large scale.* Speaking of Valabi in Western India, Hiouen Thsang says: "The character of the soil, the climate, and the manners of the people are like those of the kingdom of Malava. The population is dense, the establishments rich. There are some hundred families who possess a hundred lakhs."

* Manusamhitá, V. 112—114, 119—122; VII. 130; X. 86-89. Prof. Radhakumud Mukharji has in his highly informing work on "Indian Shipping" shown, that during the latter part of the period under treatment, India was "one of the foremost maritime countries. She had colonies in Pegu, in Cambodia, in Java, in Sumatra, in Borneo, and even in the countries of the Further East as far as Japan. She had trading settlements in Southern China, in the Malayalan Peninsula, in Arabia, and in all the chief cities of Persia, and all over the east coast of Africa. She cultivated trade relations not only with the countries of Asia, but also with the whole of the then known world, including the countries under the dominion of the Roman Empire, and both the East and the West became the theatre of Indian commercial activity and gave scope to her naval energy, and throbbing international life." (Op. cit., p. 4).

(f) EQUILIBRIUM.

Hindu civilization during the third stage was well balanced. In every civilized community, there is numerical preponderance of the individuals who are worked upon by forces making for material development. There is, therefore, a natural tendency in all civilizations towards excessive materialism and all that it connotes—inordinate luxury, greed, lust, and strife. This tendency was restrained by the ethical and spiritual ideals of the period which set benevolence above all other virtues, and regarded the animal life of man as a bondage liberation of the spirit from which is man's highest salvation. These ideals tended to promote altruism and suppress egoism, to foster self-abnegation and discourage self-indulgence. The absence of the military spirit prevented territorial expansion. The highest and most intellectual classes among the Hindus, the classes that led and legislated, seldom took any part in warfare. In India, and outside India, nearly all over Eastern Asia, the Hindus have exerted considerable influence; but the influence has generally been intellectual, spiritual or ethical. They have more or less civilized large masses of people, such as the Dravidians and other aborigines, not by conquering or annexing their territories, but by settling among them and exerting the irresistible influence of intellectual and spiritual superiority. Even in the case of conquest, it is enjoined in the Manusamhitá, that "imme-

diate security is to be assured to all by proclamation. The religion and laws of the country are to be respected, and as soon as time has been allowed for ascertaining that the conquered people are to be trusted, a prince of the royal family of the conquered country is to be placed on the throne, who should hold his kingdom as a dependency."

The major portion, if not all of the savings of an Indian, whether Hindu or Buddhist, was spent upon charitable and religious purposes, as we saw in the case of the emperor Harsha, and but comparatively little upon personal comforts and pleasures. Among the ruins of ancient cities we scarcely ever meet with architectural or sculptural remains which were not intended to serve some spiritual or ethical purpose.

Equilibrium between the forces which operate for spiritual and ethical progress and those which lead to material advancement was sought to be maintained by enjoining upon the highest, though numerically the smallest class of the community, the Bráhmans, the duties of study, of teaching and of worship and by forbidding them to engage in trade or any other money-making occupation. It is declared in the Manusamhitá that "Bráhmans who tend herds of cattle, who trade, who practice mechanical arts, who profess dancing and singing, who are hired servants or usurers, let the judge examine and exhort as if they were Súdras."* A high standard of intellectual and spiritual

* Manu, VIII, 102.

development was held up for the Bráhmans, and they were subjected to the most rigorous discipline from their boyhood to old age as students, householders and ascetics.

A high value was set upon knowledge, wisdom, and ethical development. In the Manusamhitá, seniority among the Bráhmans was declared to be according to their knowledge. The ignorant Bráhman is compared to a wooden horse or an antelope made of leather, which has nothing but the name. The measure of greatness is declared to be neither age, nor birth, nor wealth, but knowledge and wisdom. It is stated, that no good whatsoever results from presents made to ignorant Bráhmans.* It is stated in the Mahábhárata, that not by pedigree, nor by class, but by deeds one becomes a Bráhman. Even a Chandála (one of the lowest castes) becomes a Bráhman by conduct. A Bráhman doing wicked acts becomes a Súdra.†

The Bráhmans were forbidden to engage in all money-making occupations. Bráhmans who accepted remuneration for services rendered were looked down upon. In the Manusamhitá, even such work as the superintending of mines and factories and the execution of great mechanical works by a Bráhman is

* Manu, II, 154—158, III, 142.

† Mahábhárata—Anushásana Parva, 43—159.

considered a sin of the same category as theft and non-payment of debts.*

The effect of the withdrawal of the higher intellect of the Hindus from the field of arts and industries was gradually to stereotype them. They were carried to a high state of excellence during the period under review, but they remained in the same state for ever afterwards. The indigenous industries of India are much in the same condition now as they were twelve centuries ago. On the other hand, the isolation of the thinking classes was prejudicial to intellectual progress. The Bráhmans as a class did not seek material aggrandisement. Government, trade, in short, every occupation calculated to further material interests they left to the other classes. What they sought to restrict within the two highest classes, and especially within their own class was spiritual and intellectual advancement ; and that is of a nature which does not usually excite the jealousy of the mass of the people. This monopoly, however, was all the more detrimental to intellectual progress beyond a certain stage, because it was of such non-material character that the lower classes would not consider it worth their while to contest it. It was especially prejudicial to the development of those branches of knowledge which increase the comforts, conveniences and luxuries of life as the Bráhmans were averse to material progress.

* Manu. XI, 60—67.

Thus, by the close of the third stage Hindu civilization had attained its zenith and reached a condition of equilibrium which involved loss of mobility. It ceased to be progressive and has created but little since then. The movements of Hindu civilization since the second epoch have been restricted to the restoration of the equilibrium when disturbed by any causes, internal or external.

SECTION 2—GREECE.

A. The First Stage.

[Circ. B.C. 1500—Circ. B.C. 700.]

Probable date of commencement.

Our principal authorities for the first stage of Greek civilization are Homer and Hesiod. According to Aristotle and Aristarchus, Homer lived about 1044 B.C., and according to Herodotus about 850 B.C. There are some authorities who ascribe *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to different authors, the latter being considered the later of the two by nearly a century. There are others who consider the *Iliad* in its present form as the enlarged and remodelled edition by several hands of a much shorter poem by one author, the "Wrath of Achilles" composed probably about B.C. 940. But whether composed by one author or by several at different times, it is unquestionable, that at the time of the composition of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* epic poetry had reached a stage in Ionia which presupposes several centuries of antecedent development. The legends, moreover, on which they are based refer to events which had transpired some centuries before the date of their composition. The

date of the commencement of the first stage of Greek civilization may, therefore, be conjecturally placed at about 1500 B.C.

Political, social, and industrial condition.

The political condition of Greece as portrayed in the Homeric poems was much the same as that of India during the Vedic period. It was divided into a number of petty states each with a king who was helped by a council of elders. The proposals of the king had to be ratified by the Agora or popular assembly which corresponded to the *Samiti* of India. Women in Homeric Greece as in Vedic India have more freedom and hold a more equal place than in later times. Monogamy is the rule. The principal industries are those of the carpenter, the weaver, the potter, the smith and the leather-worker. The art of coining is as yet unknown, and the ox is the usual measure of value. Carving in wood and ivory, embroidery and sculpture, which is of the Assyrian type, represent the fine arts. "The Homeric art does not rise above the stage of docoration applied to objects in common use ; while in point of style it is characterised by a richness and variety of ornament which is in the strongest contrast to the simplicity of the best periods. It is the work, in short, not of artists but of skilled workmen ; the ideal artist is 'Dædalus', a name which implies mechanical skill and intricate workmanship, not beauty of design."*

* Encyc. Britan., Ninth Edition, Vol. XII, p. 112.

Religion and morality.

The religion of the Greeks as depicted by Homer and Hesiod* is anthropomorphic polytheism like that of their Indo-Aryan brethren but the anthropomorphism is carried much further than in India. The Greeks made their gods in their own image; only they are immortal and more powerful. The character which is attributed to the gods reflects the ethical development of the time. They are sanguinary and violent, and often deceitful, jealous, vindictive, and dissolute. They are not above thieving and scandalous adventures. The ideal of divine morality is no loftier than human. Cronus incited by his mother, Gæa, savagely attacks his father, Uranus. From the blood of Uranus spring up a host of giants. Cronus marries Rhea (probably another form of Gæa, the Earth) and swallows all the issues of the union. "At last Rhea bore Zeus, and gave Cronus a stone in swaddling bands, which he disposed of in the usual way. Zeus grew up, administered an emetic to Cronus (some say Metis did this), and had the satisfaction of seeing all his brothers and sisters disgorged alive. The stone came forth first, and Pausanias saw it at Delphi. Then followed the wars between Zeus and the gods he had rescued from the maw of Cronus against the gods of the elder branch, the children of Uranus and Gæa—Heaven and

*Hesiod probably flourished between B.C. 850—800.

Earth. The victory remained with the younger branch, the immortal Olympians of Homer."*

Hermes, one of the most popular divinities of Greece, was notorious for his thievish propensities, as Ares for his ferocious character, and Aphrodite for her amours. Because Niobe had boasted of her large family, Apollo had all her children pierced by arrows. "The story of Dionysus tells of man-stealing and piracy; the rapes of Europa and Helen, of the abduction of women. The dinner at which Itys was served up assures us that cannibalism was practised.....The polygamy of many heroes often appears in its worst form under the practice of sister-marriage, a crime indulged in from the king of Olympus downward. Upon the whole, then, we must admit that Greek mythology indicates a barbarian social state, man-stealing, piracy, human-sacrifice, polygamy, cannibalism, and crimes of revenge that are unmentionable."†

The idea of "law" is foreign to Homer. He is unacquainted with the later words for it. "As there is no law in Homer, so there is no morality. That is to say, there are no general principles of action, and no words which indicate that acts have been classified as good or bad, right or wrong. Moral *feeling* indeed existed and was denoted by "Aidos," but the numerous meanings of this word—shame, veneration, pity—show

* Encyc Britan. Ninth Edition, Vol. XVII, p. 155.

† Draper's "Intellectual Development of Europe," Vol. I, pp. 42-43.

how rudimentary the idea was. And when we look to practice we find that cruel and even treacherous deeds are spoken of without the least sense that they deserve censure. The heroes of Homer are hardly more moral agents than the giants and enchanters of a fairy tale."*

"Homer and Hesiod," observes Xenophanes, attribute to the gods all the acts which among men are culpable and shameful." And he adds: "If oxen and lions had hands and could manipulate like men, they would have made gods with bodies similar to their own, horses would have framed gods with horses' bodies, and cattle with cattle's.....Men think that the gods have their feelings, their voice, and their body."

Though the standard of morality during the period under review was not a high one, and the sense of honour was the basis of the moral law as with many savage tribes at the present day, the home life pictured in the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" is simple and happy, and noble traits are discernible in the character of the heroes and heroines. The relation, between master and retainer, as seen in that of Odysseus and Eumæus is that of friendship rather than of service. Odysseus when stranded on the island of the Phæacians, is hospitably received by king Alcinous and Queen Arétê and is befriended by the Princess Nausica, who is a fine study of noble and pure maidenhood.

* Encyc. Britan, Ninth Edition, Vol. XII, p. 112.

B.—The Second Stage.

[Circ. B.C. 700—Circ. B.C. 400.]

The Dorian Civilization.

The history of Greek civilization from the second stage onward is mainly that of the Ionians. The Dorians never got much beyond the first stage. They remained to the end a race of hardy mountaineers, martial, robust and inured to hardship. Their most important settlement, Sparta, was like a military camp; and the Spartans were an army always in readiness for war. The boys were brought up as soldiers. The newly born infant was produced before a council. If deformed it was exposed on the mountain to die; for an army needs strong men only. The boys were taken from their parents at the age of seven and were trained to be soldiers. "They were grouped by hundreds, each under a chief. Often they had to contend together with blows of feet and fists. At the feast of Artemis they were beaten before the statue of the goddess till the blood flowed; some died under this ordeal, but their honour required them not to weep. They were taught to fight and suffer. Often they were given nothing to eat; provision must be found by foraging. If they were captured on these predatory expeditions, they

were roughly beaten. A Spartiate boy who had stolen a little fox and had hidden it under his mantle, rather than betray himself let the animal gnaw out his vitals."*

The girls were brought up in much the same way as the boys. "In their gymnasia they practised running, leaping, throwing the disc and javelin. A poet describes a play in which Spartiate girls "like colts with flying manes make the dust fly about them." They were reputed the healthiest and bravest women in Greece..... The women stimulated the men to combat; their exhibitions of courage were celebrated in Greece, so much so that collections of stories of them were made. A Spartan mother seeing her son fleeing from battle, killed him with her own hand, saying 'The Eurotas does not flow for deer.' Another learning that her five sons had perished, said, 'This is not what I wish to know; does victory belong to Sparta?' 'Yes.' 'Then let us render thanks to the gods.'"†

Greek culture chiefly artistic.

As might be expected from the training they received and the life they led the Spartans contributed but little to Greek culture. It was the Ionians, whether in Attica or in the colonies, that advanced Greek civilization. That civilization differed in several important respects from what was developed by the Aryans in India; and

* Seignobos "History of Ancient Civilization," pp. 130-131.

* Seignobos, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 133.

the difference may to a large extent be explained by the difference of environment. In India, the Aryans came into contact with savage or semi-savage tribes. The Greeks, on the other hand, were largely under the influence of the older civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia which had carried Art to a high degree of perfection. The Hellenes drew their inspiration from it, but the in-born Aryan impulse for intellectual and spiritual culture enabled them to carry it to a higher degree of excellence. In this they were considerably aided by the excessive anthropomorphism of their religion.

The dominant feature of the Hellenic culture was artistic development. "In its poets and orators," says Hegel, "in its historians and philosophers, Greece cannot be conceived from a central point unless one brings as a key to the understanding of it an insight into the ideal forms of sculpture and regards the images of statesmen and philosophers as well as epic and dramatic heroes from the artistic point of view ; for those who act, as well as those who create and think, have, in those beautiful days of Greece, this plastic character. They are great and free, and have grown up on the soil of their own individuality, creating themselves out of themselves, and moulding themselves to what they were willed to be. The age of Pericles was rich in such characters : Pericles himself, Phidias, Plato, above all Sophocles, Thucydides, also Xenophon and Socrates, each in his own order, without the perfection of one

being diminished by that of the others. They are ideal artists of themselves, cast each in one flawless mould, works of art which stand before us as an immortal presentment of the gods."

Difference between Hellenic and Indian culture.

The most ancient examples of Indian art, with but slight exceptions, cannot be traced back earlier than the reign of Asoka in the third century B.C. many centuries after the field of philosophy had been well nigh exhausted. The earliest known Indian dramas are of even later dates; and there are scholars who have detected Greek influence in the rise of Indian art and Indian drama. History as a branch of literature was almost unknown in India. The Indo-Aryan sages were too absorbed in the more abstruse branches of intellectual culture to pay much attention to the lighter ones. In Greece philosophy did not soar so high as in India, but it appeared in the company of art, drama, history, and oratory at almost the same time towards the close of the seventh century B.C.

Causes of the difference.

The Indo-Aryans chiefly led a rural life. We have not much information about the lives of the master spirits who produced the various systems of Philosophy in India. But what little information we do possess leaves no room for doubt, that they lived away from the bustle of towns, in the country in solitary communion with Nature. The higher castes who had the practical monopoly of intellectual and spiritual culture pursued

their investigations and meditations regardless of the opinions of the mass of the people. Thought was perfectly unfettered and fearless. Whether a system was theistic, agnostic, or even atheistic, so long as it was well reasoned, it found its adherents and was welcomed. "Whatever we may think," says Max Müller, "of such views of the world as are put forward by the Sámkhya, the Vedánta and other systems of Indian philosophy, there is one thing which we cannot help admiring, and that is the straightforwardness and perfect freedom with which they are elaborated. However imperfect the style in which their theories have been clothed may appear from a literary point of view, it seems to me the very perfection for the treatment of Philosophy. It never leaves us in any doubt as to the exact opinions held by each philosopher. We may miss the development and the dialectic eloquence with which Plato and Hegel propound their thoughts, but we can always appreciate the perfect freedom, freshness, and downrightness with which each searcher after truth follows his track without ever looking right or left." *

The Bráhmans had hardly any civic duties and took but little interest in politics. Their works are characterised by idealism and a tendency towards quietism, indifference, or inaction. In Northern India which was the centre of Hindu culture, agriculture was the staple

* "Six systems of Hindu Philosophy," Preface pp. xii—xiii.

industry. There was but little commerce. Every village was more or less self-contained. It supplied all the requisites of the comparatively simple life which the people led. Except the military caste, the rest of the people followed their avocations peacefully. They were but little perturbed by wars and political changes. The dynastic and other revolutions left the village system unchanged. Attica, on the other hand, was a land of shores and has a large coastline favourable for commerce. The Ionians were pre-eminently a commercial people. They soon superseded their masters the Phœnicians in trade. Commercial settlements of the Greeks sprung up in the islands of the Ægean sea along the coast of Asia Minor, and in Italy, France and Spain. Being mainly a commercial people, the Hellenes lived in cities of which Athens was the chief. The Athenians gradually evolved a democratic form of government. Everything was decided by a majority of votes in the assembly of Athenian citizens, and all the votes were equal. Men who could by their discourses ingratiate themselves into the favour of Demos became influential. And the comic poet, Aristophanes, represents Demos as a besotted old man : "You are foolishly credulous, you let flatterers and intriguers pull you around by the nose and you are enraptured when they harangue you." The chorus in one of his comedies addressing a charlatan says : "You are rude, vicious ; you have a strong voice, an impudent eloquence, and violent gestures, believe me you have all that is necessary to govern Athens."

The democratic influence favoured the growth of Arts and of such branches of literature as could be appreciated by the mass of the people, but was adverse to high thinking. Greek philosophy had its birth not in Greece but in Asia Minor. Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Diogenes, Heraclitus, Xenophanes, all belonged to Asia Minor. Pythogoras lived for a good many years in Egypt. The democratic atmosphere of Attica was not favourable to the growth of science and philosophy. Some of the Attic philosophers had to go into exile, and not a few suffered death. Anaxagoras who settled in Athens during the famous "age of Pericles" was accused by the Athenian populace of impiety because he antagonised mind and matter, maintained that the moon had mountains and valleys like the earth, and that the so-called divine miracles could be accounted for by natural causes. He was condemned to death, barely escaped with his life through the influence of Pericles who befriended him, and ended his days as an exile. Socrates, unquestionably one of the most virtuous men that Athens ever produced, was accused of undermining the morals of the young and condemned to die. Aristotle had to flee from Athens to escape a charge of impiety which had been brought against him.

Athens was free, but not the citizen. His life was a round of civic obligations. He was forced to submit to the state religion and to perform the public functions imposed upon him by chance or election. Not a few of the Greek authors who rose to distinction

had seen military service sometime or other of their lives. Æschylus fought against the Persian invaders at Salamis, Marathon, and at Platæa. Sophocles was one of the ten generals who were sent to repress the revolt of Samos. Thucydides served as one of the Athenian generals in the Peloponnesian War. Xenophon conducted the famous retreat of the ten thousand Greeks.

The Athenian youth was educated not in the seclusion of country life as in the case of the Indian, but in busy commercial centres like Athens. He was brought up by the state to lead the life of a useful citizen, not that of a contemplative or erudite recluse. His training fitted him to be more a man of the world than a literary or philosophic devotee. He frequented the port, questioned the strangers, and bought and sold. If not a soldier he earned his livelihood by trade or industry. Socrates was the son of a sculptor, and himself worked as such. Aristotle had for sometime to support himself by the trade of a druggist. The education of a Greek youth consisted of letters, music and gymnastics. The gymnasium was an important institution and was carefully superintended by magistrates.

All these causes combined to make Athenian culture manysided but it was wanting in that boldness, accuracy, sublimity and profundity of thought which characterised the second stage of Indian civilization. The outlook on life of the Athenian was broader

but less deep than that of the Indian. Thought flourished better in the colonies of the Ionians than in their mother-land, especially in the Asiatic colonies, which were in commercial contact with Egypt, Persia, and India. Attica produced the best poets, the best orators, and the best artists, but very few philosophers and scientists, who were generally bitterly persecuted by the populace.

Greek Philosophy: Thales.

The earliest school of Greek philosophy, the Ionian, sprung up in the colony of Ionia in Asia Minor. It dealt chiefly with the phenomenal world as the object of inquiry; and the most important problem which the earlier philosophers tried to solve was, "what is the original and permanent element which lies beneath the changing forms of things?" Thales (about 625 B.C.), the father of Greek philosophy, tried to show, that water (moisture) is the first principle.

Anaximenes, Diogenes, Heraclitus.

Anaximenes (about 520-480 B.C.) took air instead of water as the primordial element. Diogenes of Apollonia in Crete who flourished about 460 B.C. was a pupil of Anaximenes. He developed the doctrines of his master by asserting air to be the soul of the world. "The air as the origin of all things is necessarily an eternal, imperishable substace, but as soul, it is also necessarily endowed with consciousness." Heraclitus of Ephesus (Circ. 530-470 B.C.) maintained fire (heat) to be the original element. His system is founded

upon the axiom, that "all is convertible into fire and fire into all." He regards "the soul of man as a portion of fire migrated from heaven. He carries his ideas of the transitory nature of all phenomena to their last consequences, and illustrates the noble doctrine, that all which appears to us to be permanent is only a regulated and self-renewing concurrence of similar and opposite motions by such extravagances as that the sun is daily destroyed and renewed."

Anaxagoras, Pythagoras.

Anaxagoras (Circ. 500—427 B. C.) came to the conclusion that a supreme Intelligence was the power that brought order out of the original chaos. "Wrongly do the Greeks suppose," says he, "that aught begins or ceases to be, for nothing comes into being or is destroyed, but all is an aggregation or secretion of pre-existent things, so that all becoming might more correctly be called becoming-mixed, and all corruption becoming-separate." He carried his doctrine of the unreliability of the senses so far as to declare: "Nothing can be known; nothing can be learned; nothing can be certain; sense is limited; intellect is weak; life is short."

Pythagoras, who flourished about the close of the sixth century B.C., was the founder of a well-known sect. He had been for some years in Egypt and possibly also in India. His fundamental doctrine was that "number is the essence or first principle of things."

"The Pythagoreans seem," says Aristotle, "to have looked upon numbers as the principle and, so to speak, the matter of which existences consist.....they supposed the elements of numbers to be the elements of existence, and pronounced the whole heaven to be harmony and number."

The Eleatic school.

The Eleatic school which derives its name from Elea, a Greek colonial city in Italy, presents a considerable advance upon the Ionian and the Pythagorean. It was founded by Xenophanes who flourished about 530 B.C. He denounced Homer and Hesiod for debasing the idea of the Divine by the vices they ascribed to the gods. He proclaimed, that "there is but one God ; He has no resemblance to the bodily form of man, nor are His thoughts like ours." He approaches Indian pantheism when he represents God "as a sphere, like the heavens, which encompass man and all earthly things." He posited Earth, Air, Fire and Water as the four primary elements, from the combinations of which the phenomena of nature have originated.

Parmenides (about 500 B. C.) puts uncreated, unchangeable, abstract Being for the God of Xenophanes, and his pantheism is more pronounced. Zeno (about 450 B.C.) systematised the doctrines of the Eleatic school, and agreeably to them started from the position, that only the One really exists, and that everything else is its appearance or modification.

Democritus.

Democritus of Abdera[1] flourished about the close of the 5th century B.C. The cosmical theory propounded by him "is of all the materialistic explanations put forth by the Greeks the one which has held the most permanent place in philosophical thought. All that exists is vacuum and atoms. The atoms are the ultimate material of all things, including spirit. They are uncaused and have existed from eternity. They are invisible, but extended, heavy, and impenetrable. They vary in shape; though whether Democritus held that they vary also in density is debated. And, lastly, these atoms are in motion. This motion, like the atoms themselves, Democritus held to be eternal." "Sensation, Democritus appears to have taught, is our only source or faculty of knowledge; indeed, his first principles admit the existence of no mental faculty of a nature distinct from sensation. He was classed among the most extreme sceptics of antiquity, and tradition attributes to him such sayings as—'There is nothing true, and if there is, we do not know it,' 'We know nothing, not even if there is anything to know.'"*

Natural science.

Of the natural sciences, astronomy early engaged the attention of the Greeks. In the age of Pericles systematic astronomical observations were made especially by Meton. To

[1] Encyc. Britan., Ninth Edition, Vol. VII, pp. 59-60.

determine the annual course of the sun scientifically, he invented an instrument which was called "heliotropion." It was set up at Athens in 433 B.C. It was a sort of sundial, which cast the shortest shadow at noon on the longest day, and was thus used to indicate the day of the summer solstice.

Art. By the commencement of the sixth century B.C. numerous and magnificent temples had been raised in Hellas. The temples of Artemis at Ephesus and of Hera at Samos were the most celebrated of the early temples. The temple of Ephesus was built of white marble, and was 425 feet in length and 220 in breadth. But Greek Art reached its zenith during the age of Pericles (B.C. 460—430). The architectural glory of Athens was centred on the Acropolis. The Parthenon was built on the highest point of the hill. It was here that the great artist Phidias displayed his plastic skill. The great statue of Athene Parthenos was one of his best known masterpieces. It was "a work in gold and ivory of colossal size (nearly forty feet) and of great magnificence, precious stones being used for the eyes, the cheeks and hair coloured, and no less than forty-four talents of gold employed on the statue. In the left hand was a spear, and in the right an image of victory four cubits high." The great painter Polygnotus was the contemporary of Phidias. "He invented the principal colours and gave beauty and life to his figures. He, as it were, transported by the skill of his brush the noble lines

of statuary to the walls of the temples and edifices. Like the sculptors, he was inspired by poetry and aimed at the ideal. Aristotle said later to his disciples: 'Pass before the painters who depict men as they are; stop before Polygnotus, who makes them more beautiful than nature has done.'"* Zeuxis was another great painter who flourished during the age of Pericles. He distinguished himself in single figures, the painting of Helen being one of his masterpieces.

Literature.

The time of Pericles was the brightest period of Greek literature. It was then that Æschylus, Sophocles, and Herodotus wrote their masterpieces. The grandest of Æschylus' tragedies is the *Oresteia*, the trilogy formed by the *Agamemnon*, the *Choëphori* and the *Eumenides*. The supreme work of Sophocles is *Œdipus the king*. Its construction is perfect, and it displays a wonderful knowledge of human nature. History came into being with Herodotus, a close friend of Sophocles. The central subject of his history is the struggle between the Greek and the Persian. "Herodotus was the first to deal with large bodies of facts, and to bring them into symmetrical arrangement in subordination to one central purpose. His was, in fact, the first Greek mind that worked in prose with freedom and power.

* "History of Ancient Civilization" by G. Du Coudray, Ed. by J. Verschoyle, p. 87.

We hardly know which to admire most, the art with which the different parts of the work are arranged, or the variety of the numerous stories told in the most easy and charming style, and relieving with their brightness the seriousness which the struggles described and the great issues involved have given to the bulk of the history."

C.—The Third Stage.

(B.C. 400—A.D. 412)

The Sophists.

As in India, so in Greece the stage of intellectual development ended in scepticism, agnosticism and monotheism or pantheism. The faith of the people in the gods and goddesses of their ancestors was unsettled and the foundations of morality based upon it were sapped. Homer had hitherto supplied their moral ideals. But the vigorous denunciation of Homer and Hesiod by the philosophers, especially by those of the Eleatic school, tended to create and foster a deep sense of distrust in them. Towards the close of the second stage, there arose a class of men called Sophists* who arguing from the contradictory nature of the conclusions arrived at by the different schools of philosophy showed the untenability of their methods and rejected them altogether.

"They [The Sophists] not only denied that human reason had thus far succeeded in ascertaining anything, but even affirmed that it is incapable, from its very nature, as dependent on human organisation, or the condition under which it acts, of determining the truth at all; nay, that even if the truth is actually in its possession, since it has no criterion by which to recognise it, it cannot so much

* Circ. 450—400 B.C.

as be certain that it is in such possession of it. From these principles, it follows, that since we have no standard of the true, neither can we have any standard of the good, and that our ideas of what is good and what is evil are altogether produced by education or by convention. Or, to use the phrase adopted by the Sophists, "it is might that makes right."..... The wise will give himself no concern as to a meritorious act or crime, seeing that the one is intrinsically neither better nor worse than the other, but he will give himself sedulous concern as respects his outer or external relations—his position in society; conforming his acts to that standard which it in its wisdom or folly, but in the exercise of its might, has declared shall be regarded as right. Or if his occasions be such as to make it for his interest to depart from the social rule, let him do it in secrecy; or what is far better, let him cultivate rhetoric, that noble art by which the wrong may be made to appear right; by which he who has committed a crime may so mystify society, as to delude it into the belief that he is worthy of praise, and by which he may prove that his enemy, who has really performed some meritorious deed, has been guilty of a crime. Animated by such considerations, the Sophists passed from place to place, offering to sell for a sum of money a knowledge of the rhetorical art, and disposed of their services in the instruction of the youth of wealthy and noble families." *

Socrates.

It was at such a juncture that there appeared the greatest moral teacher of Greece. Socrates† was a typical Athenian citizen. He served the state as a hoplite at Potidæa, at Delium and at Amphipolis, distinguishing himself

* Draper "Intellectual Development of Europe," Vol. I pp. 135-136.

† Born about B.C. 469—Died B.C. 399.

by his bravery on these occasions, and was for sometime a member of the senate. He was not a recluse, but constantly visited the gymnasium, the market-place and the workshop, talking with all comers and discussing and investigating the questions which arise from the study of our own nature. "Fields and trees," said Socrates, "won't teach me anything; the life of the streets will."

Socrates was not a "philosopher" in the strict sense of the term. He did not systematise his philosophy and never wrote anything. His environment was prejudicial to depth of thought. His deficiency in this respect becomes especially conspicuous when compared to such moral teachers as Gautama Buddha and Laotsze. The substance of his teaching was, that virtue is knowledge, that all virtues are summed up in wisdom or knowledge of good. "Where there is knowledge—that is to say practical wisdom, the only knowledge which he recognised—right action, he conceived, followed of itself; for no one knowingly prefers what is evil; and if there are cases in which men seem to act against knowledge, the inference to be drawn is, not that knowledge and wrong doing are compatible, but that in the cases in question the supposed knowledge was after all ignorance. Virtue, then, is knowledge, knowledge at once of end and of means irresistably realising itself in act." Himself endowed with an indomitable will and extraordinary self-control, he could not realise how a man could knowingly

commit a wrong act. With him good conduct only could be truly voluntary. It is through ignorance that a bad man does what is contrary to his real wish. Socrates maintained, that the object of knowledge or virtue is the Good. "He sometimes identifies the Good with virtue or wisdom, thus falling into the error which Plato, perhaps with distinct reference to Socrates, ascribes to certain cultivated thinkers."*

It was more his moral virtues than his intellectual gifts, it was the greatness of his soul, his disinterestedness and self-abnegation that endeared him to his friends and followers to such an extent that some of them, like Plato and Xenophon, almost idolised him. His appearance was by no means prepossessing. It was just the reverse. It is described to have been satyr-like. It is the "goods of the soul," his lofty spirituality which secured him the affectionate regard of his associates. He was so "pious that he did nothing without taking the counsel of the gods, so just that he never did an injury to any man, whilst he was the benefactor of his associates, so temperate that he never preferred pleasure to right, so wise that in judging of good and evil he was never at fault." In his memorable defence when he was accused of impiety and of corrupting the morals of the Athenian youth, he said: "Do I deserve to suffer or to pay a fine for that I have

* Encyc. Britan., 9th edition Vol. XXII p. 237.

purposely during my life not remained quiet, but neglecting what most men seek after, money-making, domestic concerns, military command, popular oratory, and moreover all the magistracies, conspiracies, and cabals that are met with in the city, thinking that I was in reality too upright a man to be safe if I took part in such things, I, therefore, did not apply myself to those pursuits, by attending to which I should have been of no service either to you or to myself; but in order to confer the greatest benefit on each of you privately, as I affirm, I thereupon applied myself to that object."*

Influence of Socrates.

After the sentence of death had been pronounced, Socrates concluded his "Apology" with the memorable words: "But it is now time to depart—for me to die, for you to live. But which of us is going to a better state is unknown to every one but God." Posterity did not take long to come to a decision. The enormous influence which the teaching of Socrates exerted upon Greek thought shows that the Greek mind had advanced to the third stage. The impress of the great teacher is manifested by nearly all the notable schools of philosophy which sprung up immediately after his death—the Platonic, the Cynic, the Cyrenaic, and the Megarian. Differing as they do in many important points, they all agree in holding knowledge or wisdom to be the most impor-

* "The Anology of Socrates."

tant possession of man, "and the knowledge of good to be the most important knowledge. Antisthenes the Cynic, and Aristippus of Cyrene were both "Socratic men." They both unreservedly recognised the duty of "living by consistent theory instead of mere impulse or custom," and the necessity of maintaining "the easy, calm, unwavering firmness of the Socratic temper." The Cynics taught, that "nothing but wisdom and virtue could have any value for the wise," and there were two chief aspects of their teaching: "(1) resistance to one's own superfluous appetites and desires, tending to cause labour and anxiety for what was worthless when obtained; and (2) indifference to the irrational prejudices and conventions of other men."*

Plato.

The mantle of Socrates fell on his most distinguished pupil, Plato (427-347 B.C.). Of all the systems of Greek philosophy, Plato's approximates most to the Indian, especially to the Vedantic system. His conception of the Divine Being, that of Supreme Intelligence, incorporeal, eternal and immutable—is essentially Vedantic. Like the Vedantist he held visible things to be illusory, mere fleeting shadows, and individual souls to have sprung from the Eternal Soul as sparks from a flame. Plato identified the Divine End which he conceived as the very Divine Being itself with the Good sought by his master.

* H. Sidgwick's "History of Ethics" p. 34.

He rose to the lofty Vedantic conception of God as absolute Beauty ; "explaining how man's love of the beautiful, elevated gradually from flesh to spirit, from the individual to the general, ultimately reveals itself as the yearning of the soul for the end and essence of all life and being." Plato's doctrine of the transmigration of souls is another point of contact with Indian philosophy.

In regard to his ethical teaching he maintained the Socratic identification of wisdom and virtue. The true philosopher is "the practically good man, he who being likest of men to the gods is best loved by them." In several of his most impressive dialogues, he enforced "that the true art of living is really an 'art of dying as far as possible to mere sense, in order more fully to exist in intimate union with absolute goodness and beauty." Plato recognises four cardinal virtues—wisdom, courage or fortitude, temperance or orderliness, justice or uprightness. In his view "all branches of civic duty would be regulated in minute detail by a wise government, aiming at the promotion of moral excellence in its subjects as the main element of their well-being. Especially in the ideal state of his *Republic* where the division of sentiment and life caused by *meum* and *teum* would be excluded, and the relation of the sexes ordered with a single eye to perfection of breed and distribution of functions according to fitness, obedience to rules laid down by government would constitute the whole sphere of ordinary virtue ; only phi-

losophers would have, besides the functions of Government and education, the still higher sphere of abstract contemplation. Even in the *Laws*—where community of women and property is put aside as an ideal too high for practical politics—education, marriage, and the whole daily life of the citizens from infancy to age, as well as all worship, are conceived as proper subjects of the most minute regulation, such as would supply the citizens generally with a sufficiently comprehensive and detailed moral guidance. Plato is careful, indeed, to point out that this regulation cannot be altogether secured by legal constraint; for a certain part of it the legislator should use precept and persuasion as well as judicial punishment—his ideal state, in short, has the functions of a modern church as well as those of a modern state."*

Aristotle.

Greek thought attained its highest development in Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), the most eminent of the pupils of Plato. For fifteen centuries he dominated Western thought. The range of his works comprises nearly all the branches of knowledge of his day—physics, metaphysics, ethics, logic, zoology, physiology and astronomy. His survey of the work of his predecessors is calm and comprehensive. He was the founder of the inductive philosophy. His treatise on Ethics has an abiding value. The Peripatetic school founded by him, however, exalted

* H. Sidgwick. "History of Ethics," pp. 46-47.

purely speculative life and had but little influence upon contemporary Greek life. Far different was the case with the Stoic school founded by Zeno (Circ. 342—270 B.C.). The influence which the stoics exerted upon Hellenic culture shows the advance which the Greek mind had made towards ethical development. Zeno was a disciple of the cynics, and there is marked cynic influence traceable in his teachings. "Both stoic and cynic maintained in its sharpest form, the fundamental tenet, that the practical knowledge which they identify with virtue is or involves a condition of soul that is alone sufficient for complete human well-being. It is true the cynics were more concerned to emphasize the negative side of the sage's well-being, its independence of bodily health and strength, beauty, pleasure, wealth, good birth, good fame; while the stoics brought into more prominence its positive side, the magnanimous confidence, the tranquillity undisturbed by grief, the joy and good cheer of the spirit, which inseparably attended the possession of wisdom. The stoics, in fact, seem generally to have regarded the cynic practice of rigidly reducing the provision for physical needs to a minimum, without regard to conventional proprieties, as an emphatic manner of expressing the essential antithesis between philosophic aims and vulgar desires; a manner which though not necessary or even normal, might yet be advantageously adopted by the sage under certain circumstances." The ideal stoic sage like the typical Indian sage is not

The Stoics.

effected by objects which commonly excite men's hope, joy, grief or fear, and is not perturbed by passions which sway ordinary human minds.

Weak development of the third stage in Greece.

The ethical and spiritual tendencies of the third stage in Greece were confined to a comparatively small circle of thoughtful people. They did not influence the life of the community to any large extent. The anti-cosmic forces were not powerful enough to counteract the effects of the cosmic so as to establish equilibrium. The great majority of the Greek nation remained uninfluenced by the ethical teachings of the sages. Socrates was charged with impiety and with corrupting the morals of the youth of Athens and sentenced to death. His followers were persecuted to such an extent, that Plato had to seek refuge for a time in Megara. It was the influence of Alexander that protected Aristotle at Athens. After the death of his patron, Aristotle was compelled to leave Athens in order to escape from an accusation of impiety and died in Eubæa. Greece was influenced not by the ethical culture of the philosophic few, but by the animal impulses of the ignorant proletariat. Greek Philosophy and Greek Science did not thrive on Grecian soil but flourished outside Greece in Asia Minor and Egypt.

The Peloponnesian War continued for twenty-seven years (B. C. 431-404), and after its conclusion it was revived and carried on under other names down to B.C. 360. These wars were conducted with savage ferocity.

"At the opening of the war the allies of Sparta threw into the sea all the merchants from cities hostile to them. The Athenians in return put to death the ambassadors of Sparta without allowing them to speak a word. The town of Platœa was taken by capitulation, and the Spartans had promised that no one should be punished without a trial; but the Spartan judges demanded of every prisoner if during the war he had rendered any service to the Peloponnesians; when the prisoner replied in the negative, he was condemned to death. The women were sold as slaves..... .....After the Syracusan disaster all the Athenian army was taken captive. The conquerors began by slaughtering all the generals and many of the soldiers. The remainder were consigned to the quarries which served as prison. They were left there crowded together for seventy days, exposed without protection to the burning sun of summer, and then to the chilly nights of autumn. Many died from sickness, from cold and hunger—for they were hardly fed at all; their corpses remained on the ground and infected the air. At last the Syracusans drew out the survivors and sold them to slavery.

Ordinarily when an army invaded a hostile state it levelled the houses, felled the trees, burned the crops and killed the labourers. After battle it made short shrift of the wounded and killed prisoners in cold blood. In a captured city everything belonged to the captor: men, women, children were sold as slaves."[1]

Causes of the downfall of Greek Civilization.

The ethical development of Greece differed from that of China or India in one very important respect—its failure to recognise benevolence as one of the cardinal virtues. Neither Plato, nor Aristotle includes

[1] Seignobos, "History of Ancient Civilization," pp. 158-159.

benevolence among such virtues. The good not only of fellowmen, but of all sentient beings is the basal principle of Indian and Chinese ethics. Even in Aristotle's comprehensive account of virtue, love for fellowmen is restricted to friendship, the proper basis of which is held to be the mutual recognition of goodness. There is no place in the teachings of the Greek sages from Socrates downward for such altruism as is inculcated by Buddhism or, in later times, by Christianity—

"Never in this world does hatred cease by hatred.
Hatred ceases by love; this is always its nature."
"Let us live happily, then, not hating those who hate us;
Let us live free from hatred among men who hate."

As a consequence of the incomplete development of Greek ethical culture and of the highly imperfect diffusion of that culture through the community on account chiefly of democratic influence, there was incessant and sanguinary warfare not only between different states, but also between different classes of the same state for well nigh three centuries (B.C. 430—150 B.C.). These internecine civil wars resulted in the exhaustion of Greece and the loss of her independence. Wealth in Greece was very unequally distributed. It was concentrated in a few rich families who commanded all the sources of financial profit. The great majority of the citizens were sunk in poverty. They had

political power, but no money. The system of slave-labour which prevailed in Greece was a serious handicap to free-labour. The latter could not compete with the former. Besides, manual labour was considered as degrading to a citizen. "A well-constituted city," says Aristotle, "ought not to receive the artisan into citizenship."

"Thus by the competition of slaves and their exalted situation, the greater part of the citizens were reduced to extreme misery. The poor governed the cities and had no means of living. The idea occurred to them to despoil the rich, and the latter, to resist them, organized associations. Then every Greek city was divided into two parties; the rich, called the minority, and the poor called the majority or the people. Rich and poor hated one another and fought one another. When the poor got the upper hand, they exiled the rich and confiscated their goods.....The rich, when they returned to power, exiled the poor. In many cities they took this oath among themselves. 'I swear always to be an enemy to the people and to do them all the injury I can.' No means were found of reconciling the two parties: the rich could not persuade themselves to surrender their property; the poor were unwilling to die of hunger.....They fought savagely..... 'At Miletus the poor were at first predominant and forced the rich to flee the city. But afterwards regretting that they had not killed them all, they took the children of the exiles, assembled them in barns and had them trodden under the feet of cattle. The rich re-entered the city and became masters of it. In their turn they seized the children of the poor, coated them with pitch and burned them alive.'"*

* Seignobos, "History of Ancient Civilization," pp. 189—190.

About the sixth century B.C., the democratic party decided to receive a chief who was called Tyrant. The tyrant had absolute power "condemning to death and confiscating property at will. Mercenaries defended him against his enemies. The following anecdote represents the policy of the tyrants: 'Periander, tyrant of Corinth, sent one day to Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, to ask what conduct he ought to follow in order to govern with safety. Thrasybulus led the envoy into the field and walked with him through the wheat, striking off with his staff all heads that were higher than the others. He sent off the envoy without further advice. The messenger took him for a fool, but Periander understood: Thrasybulus was counselling him to slay the principal citizens.' Every where the rich were killed by the tyrant, and their goods confiscated; often the wealth was distributed among the poor. This is why the populace always sustained the tyrant."*

There were some tyrants like Pisistratus, Polycrates, and Pittacus who were respected for their wisdom. But the great majority of them made incessant warfare on the rich and were consequently detested by them. The tyrant dared not trust anybody, believed himself secure only after the massacre of all his enemies, and condemned the citizens to death on the slightest suspicions. Thus the name tyrant became a synonym of injustice."

* Seignobos, "History of Ancient Civilization," pp. 190—191.

Hellenic culture in Egypt and Asia Minor.

The gradual exhaustion of Greece consequent upon the long protracted civil wars prepared the way for her conquest by Rome which was consummated in B.C. 147. The conquests of Alexander had extended the domain of Greek civilization in Asia and Africa. Greek culture found a more congenial home there under the antocratic governments of Greek Kings than in democratic Greece seething with corruption, cabals, conspiracies and civil wars. Pergamum, Antioch, and Alexandria in Egypt became more conspicuous centres of Hellenic culture than Athens had ever been, especially Alexandria. The Museum at Alexandria "was an immense edifice of marble connected with the royal palace. The kings of Egypt purposed to make of it a great scientific institution. The museum contained a great library. The chief librarian had a commission to buy all the books that he could find." Some 400,000 volumes were collected in this way. Attached to the Museum were a zoological and a botanical garden, an astronomical observatory and a dissecting room. The Museum was also a sort of a University. Thousands of students received instruction there. They were maintained at the expense of the state. There was perfect toleration, and Greeks, Egyptians, Jews and Syrians mingled together. For several centuries, Alexandria remained the scientific and philosophical capital of the world of Greek culture.

Alexandria produced a large number of men distinguished in science, philosophy and literature. It was there that Euclid wrote his Geometry in the beginning of the fourth century B.C., and Archimedes (born B.C. 287), Eratosthenes (born B.C. 276), Apollonius (B.C. 160-125), and Hipparchus carried on their researches in mechanics, mathematics, and astronomy. The Egyptian priest Manetho (285-247 B.C.) wrote the "Chronicles of Egypt" in Greek of which but a few fragments have come down to us. Berosus did for Chaldœan history what Manetho had done for the Egyptian. It was in Alexandria and Antioch that the culture of India and of Greece met. The two cities were like huge crucibles where the fusion of nationalities and of ideas was carried on.

Spread of Hellenic culture in the Roman empire.

The civilization of Greece not only survived her conquest by Rome, but spread over a wider area than before. The peace firmly established by the Roman Empire favoured the dissemination of Hellenic culture. The Roman conquest meant physical subjection for Greece, but mental subjection for Rome. Rome had made but little progress even in the first stage of civilization when she conquered Greece. She had distinguished herself in nothing else except predatory warfare. Coming into contact with Hellenic culture, Rome began to imbibe it, and was to a large extent Hellenised. Under Hellenic influence she made rapid strides towards the second stage, though, as is inevitable

in such cases, her advance in it was not very great. And as we shall presently see, though the influence of the third stage was felt in the Roman empire, Rome herself did not attain it, and her civilization remained grossly material to the end.

It soon became the fashion in Rome to send the Roman youth for instruction to the Greek Schools of Athens and Rhodes. The Greek became the language of cultivated people. The Scipios surrounded themselves with cultured Greeks. Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedon, had his children educated by Greek preceptors. Greeks came to Rome and opened schools of philosophy, rhetoric, poesy, and music. In their arts, literature and philosophy, the Romans imitated the Greeks. They took their models from Greece, and borrowed from the Greeks their ideas and their forms. They originated but little whether in philosophy, science, literature or art. The Latin authors are distinguished more by elegance than by originality and depth. The most brilliant period of Roman literature, the Augustan age, produced great poets such as Virgil and Horace, or historians such as Livy, but no great philosophers or scientists. The few thoughtful writers that Rome produced were not Romans, but Greeks. Polybius the most philosophic of Roman historians, was a native of Megalopolis in Arcadia. He was carried off to Rome after the defeat of Perseus of Macedon. Epictetus, the greatest philosopher that Rome can boast of, was born at Hierapolis in Phrygia,

and he took for his models Socrates and Diogenes. Plutarch who was as much a philosopher as a historian was by birth a Greek.

Under the ægis of the Roman Empire, Alexandria continued to be the centre of Greek culture. It was there that Philo the Jew (born Circ. 10 B. C.) elaborated his mystical philosophy, Apollonius of Tyana attempted his reformation of current religious practices, denying the efficacy of sacrifice, and substituting for it a short prayer and a simple worship, and Ammonius Saccas established the school of philosophy known as Neo-Platonism, the last effort of Grecian philosophy. This system was highly developed by Plotinus (A.D. 205-270).

Indian influence on Greek culture.

He had accompanied the expedition of the Emperor Gordian to India, and Indian influence is very marked in his philosophy. Plotinus is in accord with Badaráyana in considering the great end of existence to be "to draw the soul from external things and fasten it in contemplation on God," and "to cultivate truth and devote life to intimate communion with God, divesting ourselves of all personality, and passing into the condition of ecstasy, in which the soul is loosened from its material prison, separated from individual consciousness, and absorbed in the infinite intelligence from which it emanated." The principles and practices of Plotinus are essentially Indian.

The ethical tendencies of the third stage were best exhibited in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire—

in Asia Minor and Egypt—which had to some extent been leavened by Greek as well as Indian culture. Since the foundation of Alexandria steady communication was maintained between it and Northern India, and Buddhist doctrines penetrated into Eastern Asia and Egypt. "In the dialogues between Milinda and Nágasena we have a well-authenticated case of a Greek King (Menandros) and of a Buddhist philosopher discussing together some of the highest problems of religion and philosophy."*

Alexandria was known to the author of Mahávamsa. Clement of Alexandria had some knowledge of the doctrines of Buddhism; and we are informed by Damascius that a colony of Bráhmans was living at Alexandria about the close of the fifth century A.D.

It is highly probable that the rise of Christianity was influenced by Buddhism. There is the closest accordance in the ethical principles of the two religions, and the greatest discordance between them and the ethical principles of Hellenic or Judaic culture. As we have seen above, altruism which is the basal principle of Christianity as well as of Buddhism is very imperfectly developed in Greek morality. It is certainly not recognized as one of the cardinal virtues either by Plato or by Aristotle, and the perpetual, relentless strife of class against class, and of state against state, and the

* Max Müller, "The six systems of Indian philosophy," p. 84.

bitter animosity which prevailed among them, show to what a small extent it influenced the life of the people. It was also foreign to the morality of Judæa where Christ preached his sublime doctrines. "A tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye" was one of the governing principles of Judaic ethics, and the Hebrew conception of God was that of an all-powerful but far from beneficent Being. For the first time in the Hellenistic world Christ preached as Gautama Buddha in India and Laotsze in China had done five centuries before him the noble doctrines of benevolence and humility. "Ye have heard, that it was said: An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you.....whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also...Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that persecute you." "Whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." Christ, like Buddha, drew his disciples from among the populace and taught them to be "meek and lowly of heart."

Ethical condition of the Roman Empire.

For the first three centuries of the Christian era the propagation of Christianity in the Roman Empire met with determined opposition. The Christians were severely persecuted both by the people and the Government. The ethical spirit of the third stage of Greek civilization

was felt in the Roman Empire, but it was confined to the cultured few, to such men as Seneca, Epictetus, Cicero and Marcus Aurelius. The ethical culture which was most in vogue in the Roman Empire in the earlier centuries of the Christian Era was that of Stoicism. Its spiritual tendencies are unquestionable. The stoics entertained "a positive aversion to the flesh as an alien element imprisoning and hampering the spirit." They looked upon the body as a "corpse which the soul sustains," and life a "Sojourn in a strange land" or "a voyage on a stormy sea where the only haven is death." Marcus Aurelius rises to the sublime doctrine of Christian and Buddhist benevolence when he says, "Love men from the heart," "Love even those who do wrong."

But neither Stoicism, nor, later on, Neo-Platonism made any impression upon the Roman community at large. It was immersed in the grossest materialism. The brutal instincts of the people were displayed in their utmost hideousness in the bloody games of the Amphitheatre in all the important cities of the Roman Empire.

The Christians were severely persecuted. But the persecution which they suffered served to consolidate them and bring out all their best qualities. Wild beasts, the rack and the fire were applied without any avail. Persecution only served to bind the feeble Christian communities and repress internal dissent. One day a Roman Governor decreed persecutions against some

Christians. All the Christians of the city presented themselves at the tribunal and offered to be persecuted. The exasperated governor had some of them executed and sent the others away saying, "Begone you wretches! If you are so bent on death, you have precipices and ropes." Some of the more enthusiastic among the faithful were so eager for torture that they entered Roman temples and threw down the idols. Not a few of the Christians who were condemned to be beheaded or to be burnt or devoured by wild beasts returned thanks to God that they had been deemed worthy to suffer.

The persecution of the Christians led to their solidarity, and their solidarity made them powerful. Their help was sought by several aspirants for empire, the most successful being Constantine (A.D. 313-337). The unwavering adherence of the Christian to his cause secured him success, and Constantine became the patron and protector of Christianity though he himself did not become a convert until the last days of his bad life. His recognition of the Church as a political power, and its close alliance with the state favoured the propagation of Christianity throughout the Empire. The people who were converted were either sunk in savagery or, if civilized, immersed in the grossest materialism and had not advanced far even in the second stage of human progress. They were not prepared for the assimilation of such a highly ethical religion as Christianity. They became nominally Christians but remained

more or less barbarians at heart. They were mostly in a stage of social evolution which absolutely unfitted them to appreciate culture. The early ecclesiastical writers, or Fathers recognized no knowledge but what was found in the scriptures. Ignorance bred bigotry, and bigotry led to intolerance and persecution. Paradoxical as the statement may appear, the propagation of Christianity in the Roman Empire strengthened rather than weakened the forces of barbarism.

Extinction of Greek civilization.

Alexandria continued to be the stronghold of Greek culture till the beginning of the 5th century. The temple of Serapis, or the Serapion, the most magnificent religious structure of the period, was the repository of the most valuable library of the age. It was destroyed by order of the Emperor Theodosius. The execution of the order was entrusted to Archbishop Theophilus, who was as ignorant and as fanatical as the Emperor. He commenced his work by pillaging and dispersing the library and did not rest until the whole structure was razed to the ground and a Church built on its site. In his holy zeal, Theophilus pushed forward his victory and demolished the temple at Canopus and various other temples of Egypt. Speaking of the monks of the period, Eunapius says: "Whoever wore a black dress was invested with tyrannical power; philosophy and piety to the gods were compelled to retire into secret places and to

dwell in contented poverty and dignified meanness of appearance. The temples were turned into tombs for the adoration of the bones of the basest and most depraved of men, who had suffered the penalty of the law, and whom they made their gods."*

On the death of Theophilus, he was succeeded in the Archbishopric of Alexandria by St. Cyril. Among the cultivators of Greek philosophy in Alexandria at the time, the most distinguished was a virtuous, gifted and beautiful lady, daughter and disciple of the philosopher and mathematician, Theon. She was recognized as the head of the Neo-Platonic school. "The fascination of her great eloquence (she is said on more than one occasion to have proved an effective advocate in the courts of law), and the charm of a rare modesty and beauty, combined with her remarkable intellectual gifts to attract to her class room a large number of disciples, over some of whom her influence was very great....In the conflicts between the various elements of Alexandrian society which took place shortly after the accession of Cyril to the patriarchate in 412, she became closely identified as counsellor and friend with the prefect Orestes, and in the same degree made herself an object of fear and hatred to the Nitrian monks and the fanatical Christian mob, by whom she was ultimately murdered under circumstances of revolting

* Draper, "Intellectual Development of Europe," Vol. I, p. 321.

barbarity (Lent, 415)...She was torn from her chariot, dragged to the Cæsareum (then a Christian Church), stripped naked, cut to pieces with oyster shells, and finally burnt piecemeal. Most prominent among the actual perpetrators of the crime was one Peter, a reader; but there seems little reason to doubt Theodoret's assertion of Cyril's real complicity."* Thus was Greek culture killed in the person of Hypatia.

* Encyc. Britan. Ninth Edition, Vol. XII, p. 590.

CHAPTER VI.

THE THIRD EPOCH [A.D. 700—].

WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

A.—The First Stage.

[A.D. 700—A.D. 1600].

The Saracens.

The third epoch, like the previous ones, was initiated by important racial and political movements. Towards the close of the second epoch, Aryan ascendancy, both political and cultural, had been established all over the civilized world with the single exception of China. Even China had to no small extent been dominated by the Aryan thought of India. The commencement of the third epoch saw the rise of a new Semitic power which rapidly spread all over Eastern Asia, Northern Africa and Western Europe from the Indus and the Oxus

to the Atlantic ocean and the Pyrenees. For nearly five centuries the Saracens maintained their political supremacy, and at one time they threatened to extend their empire into Northern Europe. Culturally also they were far superior to the "Barbarian" Aryans of Europe who had established their authority over the European portion of the Roman Empire. Indian civilization was still alive though with restricted mobility; and Hellenic culture though it perished before the close of the second epoch had left all that was best in it in such works as those of Plato, Aristotle, Archimedes, and Euclid. Under the influence of the cultural products of these two civilizations a good number of the semi-savage Arabs were soon transformed into devoted students of literature and science. They not only translated a large number of the works of the Greeks and the Hindus, but, in some respects, also improved upon them. They carried the torch of civilization into Spain, and for several centuries Cordova was the cultural centre of Europe. Europe owes its first Medical College (that of Salerno in Italy) and its first astronomical observatory (that of Seville) to the Saracens. They introduced the Indian method of Arithmetic into Europe, and elevated Trigonometry into a science.

"In astronomy they not only made catalogues, but maps of the stars visible in their skies, giving to those of the larger magnitudes, the names they still bear on our celestial globes. They ascertained the size of the earth by the measurement of a degree on her surface, determined the obliquity of the ecliptic, published corrected tables

of the sun and moon, fixed the length of the year, verified the precession of the equinoxes.....The Arabian astronomers also devoted themselves to the construction and perfection of astronomical instruments, to the measurement of time by clocks of various kinds, by clepsydras and sundials. They were the first to introduce, for the purpose, the use of the pendulum ..... In mechanics, they had determined the laws of falling bodies, had ideas, by no means indistinct, of the nature of gravity ; they were familiar with the theory of the mechanical powers. In hydrostatics, they constructed the first tables of the specific gravities of bodies, and wrote treatises on the flotation and sinking of bodies in water. In optics, they corrected the Greek misconception, that a ray proceeds from the eye, and touches the object seen, introducing the hypothesis that the ray passes from the object to the eye. They understood the phenomena of the reflection and refraction of light. Alhazen made the great discovery of the curvilinear path of a ray of light through the atmosphere, and proved that we see the sun and moon before they have risen, and after they have set.

The effects of this scientific activity are plainly perceived in the great improvements that took place in many of the industrial arts. Agriculture shows it in better methods of irrigation, the skilful employment of manures, the raising of improved breeds of cattle, the enactment of wise codes of rural laws, the introduction of the culture of rice, and of sugar and coffee. The manufactures show it in the great extension of the industries of silk, cotton, wool; in the fabrication of cordova and morocco leather and paper ; in mining, casting, and various metallurgic operations ; in the making of Toledo blades.

Passionate lovers of poetry and music, they dedicated much of their leisure time to those elegant pursuits. They taught Europe the game of chess; they gave it taste for works of fiction—romances and novels. In the graver domains of literature, they took delight: they had many admirable compositions

on such subjects as the instability of human greatness; the consequences of irreligion; the reverses of fortune; the origin, duration and end of the world. Sometimes, not without surprise, we meet with ideas which we flatter ourselves have originated in our own times. Thus our modern doctrines of evolution and development were taught in their schools. In fact, they carried them much further than we are disposed to do, extending them even to inorganic or mineral things."*

Character of Saracen Civilization.

The marvellous progress which the Mahomedans made, however, was an adventitious, not an indigenous growth. It was superficial and individual. As a community, the Moslems were still in the first stage of civilization, though they appeared to have advanced far into the second. Their civilization was still essentially material. They created but little except in the field of architecture and light literature. The mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, the mosques and the necropolis of the royal dynasties of Cairo, the mosque of Cordova, the Alcazar of Seville, and the Alhambra may be mentioned as some of the most imposing witnesses of the architectural taste and skill of the Moslems. Their architectural achievements were continued to the close of the first stage of the third epoch. But their scientific and philosophical culture was short-lived. It perished as soon as broad-minded and enlightened Kaliphs ceased to support it by their patronage. The large-hearted Kalif, Al-Mamum (A.D. 813—832), had made Bagdad the

* Draper, "Conflict between Religion and Science," pp. 116—118.

centre of the intellectual culture of the time. But the Mahomedan community regarded him as the "wicked Kalif" because "he had not only disturbed the people by introducing the writings of Aristotle and other Greek heathens, but had even struck at the existence of heaven and hell by saying that the earth is a globe, and pretending that he could measure its size." In the tenth century, Kalif Hakem II. had made Andalusia the cultural centre of Europe. "All learned men, no matter from what country they came, or what their religious views, were welcomed. The Kalif had in his palace a manufactory of books, and copyists, binders, illuminators. He kept book-buyers in all the great cities of Asia and Africa. His library contained four hundred thousand volumes, superbly bound and illuminated." But his successor, Almansor, "had the library of Hakem searched, and all works of a scientific or philosophical nature carried into the public places, burnt, or thrown into the cisterns of the palace. By a similar court revolution Averroes, in his old age—he died A.D. 1198—was expelled from Spain; the religious party had triumphed over the philosophical. He was denounced as a traitor to religion. An opposition to philosophy had been organized all over the Mussulman world. There was hardly a philosopher who was not punished. Some were put to death, and the consequence was that Islam was full of hypocrites."*

* Draper, "Conflict between Religion and Science," pp. 142—143.

The seed sown by the Moors in Spain did not germinate and bear any harvest until the proper season, that is, until Europe stepped into the second stage. This fact is in conformity with the law of social progress which we have sought to establish in this work, *viz.*,—that for complete cultural florescence a community must pass through the three stages into which the history of civilization during any particular epoch is divisible. The transmission of the products of the second epoch does not even appear to have appreciably abridged the duration of the first stage of the modern civilization of Europe, which was nearly the same as that of the first stage of the civilization of the Greeks and the Hindus in the previous epoch.

Culture of the first stage—the Fine Arts.

The cultural development of the first stage of Western civilization, was as usual, confined to the Fine Arts (including poetry.) But it was on the whole, far superior to the similar development of the previous epoch, especially towards the close of the stage (the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries) when the culture of the ancients had begun to exert its influence.

The purely indigenous art of modern Europe attained its culminating point in the thirteenth century. That was the age of the most perfect mediæval sculpture uninfluenced by ancient tradition. In architecture, structures like Salisbury cathedral stand for "the perfect acquirement of freedom and grace without the least trace of over-elaboration. As it was founded in 1220,

and completed (without the steeple) before the consecration in 1258, this coincides as closely as possible with the highest point of sculpture." In regard to painting, "the chapel of S. Felice at Padua shows that as early as 1379 complete freedom was attained by Altichiero and Jocobo d' Avanzo; they were the earliest masters to stand clear of archaism, which was fully passed by other men till about 1450."*

Classical influence.

What is called Renaiscence in European history was not in reality re-birth but normal birth, though the result of that birth was, no doubt, to a great extent, moulded and shaped by the models of the preceding epoch. The closing centuries of the first stage of Western civilization presents a galaxy of brilliant poetical and artistic geniuses who, though they borrowed largely from the ancients were genuine indigenous growth. It was then that Ariosto (1474—1533)† wrote his great work "Orlando Furioso" where his imagination ran riot among gorgeous palaces, wonderful adventures, winged horses and golden lances. Tasso (1544—1595) glorified the Crusades in his masterpiece, "Jerusalem Delivered," and

* Flinders Petrie, "Revolutions of Civilization," p. 95. Among the best examples of indigenous mediæval sculpture, he cites the head of Emperor Henry VI. at Bamberg, and that of the figure of Eleanor of Castile at Westminister (1290).

† Ariosto had been preceded by Dante (1265—1321) and Petrarch (1304—1374) whose works were the first fruits of an assiduous study of the Latin poets.

"blended Christian miracles with chivalric legends and gallantries." In Spain, Cervantes (1547-1615), wrote his immortal work, "History of Don Quixote de la Mancha," and Lope de Vega (1562—1635) his vivacious comedies at about the same time as Tasso. In England, the fame of the immortal poet, Shakespeare, (1564—1616) eclipsed that of his predecessor, Spenser, and his contemporary, Ben Jonson. The works of all these great poets betray classical influence, though it is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact amount of that influence.

In Art, Leonardo da Vinci (1452—1519), Michael Angelo, (1474—1564), Raphael (1483—1520), and Titian (1477—1576) stand out foremost among the many great names of the period. Like his predecessor, Leonardo, Michael Angelo was, at the same time, architect, painter and sculptor. The titanic nature of his genius is evinced by his colossal painting, the "Last Judgment," a superb, dexterously arranged poem in colour. The execution of this masterpiece occupied him nine years during which period he shut himself in the Sistine chapel which it decorated. The genius of Raphael for composition, drawing, and painting is evidenced by his Holy Families, portraits, pictures and frescoes. Titian excelled in portraying his ideas in vivid colours, and the brilliant tone of his painting is still preserved notwithstanding the lapse of several centuries. All these great artists imitated from the ancients. From the sixteenth century the Italian sculptors began to copy

the statues and the bas-reliefs preserved at Rome, and artistic anatomy became as indispensible for them as it had been with the Greek sculptors.

Militarism in Europe.

During the first stage, especially during its first half, Europe was a vast military camp. There was hardly any right except that of brute strength. The feudal lords considered warfare as their noblest occupation. They were mostly illiterate, and were generally violent and ferocious, often brutal. They did nothing except fight, hunt, drink and eat. There was, in fact, not much to distinguish them from the chiefs of savage tribes. Richard Cœr de Lion, who occupied a foremost place among the flower of mediæval knighthood, massacred 2500 Saracen prisoners. "In a war with Philip Augustus he ordered that fifteen knightly prisoners should have their eyes put out, then he sent them to the king of France, giving to them as a guide one of their number who had lost but one eye. Philip Augustus, in response, put out the eyes of fifteen knights whom he had taken from Richard, and sent them back to their master under the guidance of a woman; 'so that,' says his panegyrist, 'no one could think him inferior to Richard in courage and in strength, or believe that he was afraid of him. In 1119, a great Norman lord, Eustache de Bertrail, son-in-law of the King of England, ordered the eyes of one of his hostages put out; a nobleman, the father of the victim, caused the daughters of Eustache to be delivered to

him by their grandfather, put out their eyes and cut off their noses. These acts of savage violence were still frequent in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."*

The knights fought with one another and also with their suzerains. As a result of this perpetual warfare, the peasantry suffered terribly. Their fields were ravaged, and their cottages burnt. "The poor serf had scarcely replaced his roof or sown his field when fresh ravages ruined him a second time. The uncleared land increased, and terrible famines almost periodically decimated the population. The chronicles of the times, in spite of their dryness, enable us to realise the sufferings of the population, reduced to feed themselves upon unclean animals or grass."†

Militarism and predatory spirit outside Europe.

Early in the sixteenth century when concentration of political power in the hands of absolute monarchs had established order and curbed the warlike and predatory activities of the first stage in Europe, they found outlets outside it, especially in America. European adventurers conquered, pillaged, and devastated the Antilles, Peru and Mexico. The native inhabitants of the Antilles were forced to wash out the gold and to cultivate sugarcane for the conquerors. Unaccustomed to hard labour they "could not endure

* Seignobos, "History of Mediæval Civilization," p. 77.

† "History of Modern Civilization" (based upon G. Ducoudray's "Histoire Sommaire de la Civilization") p. 108.

that life ; many committed suicide, others fled to the woods, the greater number died of fatigue and illness. At Santo Domingo there were about 400,000 inhabitants when the Spaniards arrived, in 1508 there were only 60,000 remaining ; in 1514, only 14,000, and at the end of the sixteenth century the men of that race had entirely disappeared."*

The lust for gold led the Spaniards to commit appalling atrocities in their newly conquered territories. The lands and goods of the indigenes had been seized by apostolic authority.

"Their persons were next seized, under the text that the heathen are given as an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession. It was one unspeakable, one unutterable ruin, without discrimination of age or sex. Those who died not under the lash in a tropical sun died in the darkness of the mine. From sequestered sand-banks, where the red flamingo fishes in the grey of the morning ; from fever-stricken mangrove thickets, and the gloom of impenetrable forests ; from hiding places in the clefts of rocks, and the solitude of invisible caves, from the eternal snows of the Andes, where there was no witness but the all-seeing Sun, there went up to God a cry of human despair. By millions upon millions, whole races and nations were remorselessly cut off. The Bishop of Chiapa affirms that more than fifteen millions were exterminated in his time ! From Mexico and Peru a civilization that might have instructed Europe was crushed out. .....The discovery of America agitated Europe to its deepest foundations. All classes of men were affected. The populace at once went wild with a lust of gold and a love of adventure." †

* Seignobos, "History of Modern Civilization, p. 247.

† Draper, "Intellectual Development of Europe," Vol. II. pp. 176—167.

Slave trade.

Early in the sixteenth century began that nefarious trade in slaves which for full three centuries caused untold misery among the Negroes of Africa. In 1519, Charles V. granted the monopoly of the trade in slaves to a Fleming noble who sold it to a commercial firm of Genoa. This was the commencement of the slave-trade, "the commerce in ebony" as it was derisively called. European merchants sometimes attacked the Negro villages and carried away the inhabitants, and sometimes bought them in exchange for glass-beads and similar trumpery articles. "An English admiral of the sixteenth century boasted of having caused the death of several thousand blacks in order to bring away four hundred captives. The Negroes were piled up in the hold of the ship, as many as it could contain ; and they remained without air, and without light during the passage of several weeks. They died by hundreds. The survivors arriving in America were sold as slaves and sent to the sugar and coffee plantations, where the overseers made them work under the lash."*

Religion.

As might be expected from what has been said above, religion was chiefly one of dogma and formula. The Europeans had, it is true, been converted to Christianity, but they had not yet had the intellectual preparation requisite for the assimilation of such a highly ethical religion. It is

* Seignobos, "History of Mediæval and Modern Civilization," p. 248.

very probable, that Christianity had been influenced by Buddhist altruism. In any case, it was one of the grandest products of the last stage of Oriental culture during the second epoch, and was an anomaly in the first stage of Western civilization. As in the case of Buddhism among various Mongolian tribes in a low stage of civilization, so in the case of Christianity among the Europeans, they could not be lifted up to its spiritual and ethical height, and it was brought down to their level. The remarks which Buckle makes in regard to the savages outside Europe who were converted to Christianity in his time apply to the Christian converts of Europe during the period under review :

"Men of excellent intentions, and full of a fervent, though mistaken zeal have been, and still are, attempting to propagate their own religion among the inhabitants of barbarous countries. .....But whoever will compare the triumphant reports of the missionaries with the long chain of evidence supplied by competent travellers, will soon find that such profession is only nominal, and that these ignorant tribes have adopted, indeed, the ceremonies of the new religion, but have by no means adopted the religion itself. They receive the externals, but there they stop. They may baptize their children : they may take the sacrament ; they may flock to the church. All this they may do, and yet be as far removed from the spirit of Christianity as when they bowed the knee before their former idols. The rites and forms of a religion lie on the surface ; they are at once seen, they are quickly learned, easily copied by those who are unable to penetrate to that which lies beneath. It is this deeper and inward change which alone is durable ; and this the savage can never experience

while he is sunk in an ignorance that levels him with the brutes by which he is surrounded." *

The Inquisition.

To what a small extent the Christian spirit pervaded even those who might be reasonably supposed to have imbibed it most is shown by the Inquisition. That terrible tribunal was instituted by the head of the Christian Church, and the inquisitors were usually monks. All persons suspected of heresy were arraigned before it and were judged in secret and arbitrarily without being told the names of their accusers. Torture was employed to extort confessions from them. There was no appeal from the judgment of the Inquisition. Some were condemned to pay heavy fines or to be scourged in public. Others were "immured," that is, imprisoned for life in a small dark cell "to eat the bread of anguish, and to drink the water of sorrow." Others again were burnt alive, sometimes by slow fire.

"Llorente, who had free access to the archives of the Spanish Inquisition, assures us that by that tribunal alone, more than 31,000 persons were burnt, and more than 290,000 condemned to punishments less severe than death. The number of those who were put to death for their religion in the Netherlands alone, in the reign of Charles V., has been estimated by a very high authority at 50,000 and at least half as many perished under his son. And when to these memorable instances we add the innumerable less conspicuous executions that took place, from the victims of Charlemagne to the free-thinkers of the seventeenth century,

* "History of Civilization in England," Vol. I. p. 206.

when we recollect that after the mission of Dominic the area of the persecution comprised nearly the whole of Christendom, and that its triumph was in some districts so complete as to destroy every memorial of the contest, the most callous nature must recoil with horror from the spectacle. For these atrocities were not perpetrated in the brief paroxysms of a reign of terror, or by the hands of obscure sectaries, but were inflicted by a triumphant Church, with every circumstance of solemnity and deliberation. Nor did the victims perish by a rapid and painless death, but by one which was carefully selected as among the most poignant that man can suffer. They were usually burnt alive. They were burnt alive not unfrequently by a slow fire. They were burnt alive after their constancy had been tried by the most excruciating agonies that minds fertile in torture could devise." *

In 1632 Galileo published his work entitled "The System of the World," its object being the vindication of the Copernican doctrine. He was summoned before the Inquisition at Rome, "accused of having asserted that the earth moves round the sun. He was declared to have brought upon himself the penalties of heresy. On his knees, with his hand on the Bible, he was compelled to abjure and curse the doctrine of the movement of the earth. What a spectacle! This venerable man, the most illustrious of his age, forced by the threat of death to deny facts which his judges as well as himself knew to be true! He was then committed to prison, treated with remorseless severity during the remaining

* "History of the Rise and Influence of the spirit of Rationalism in Europe." By W. E. H. Lecky, Vol. II. p. 32.

ten years of his life, and was denied burial in consecrated ground."*

Bruno came to the conclusion that the pantheistic views of Averroes were not far from the truth, "that there is an Intellect which animates the universe, and of this Intellect the visible world is only an emanation or manifestation originated and sustained by force derived from it, and were that force withdrawn, all things would disappear. This ever-present, all-pervading Intellect is God, who lives in all things, even such as seem not to live; that everything is ready to become organized, to burst into life. God is therefore, 'the one Sole Cause of things,' 'the All in All.' * * * * On the demand of the spiritual authorities, Bruno was removed from Venice to Rome, and confined in the prison of the Inquisition, accused not only of being a heretic but also a heresiarch, who had written things unseemly concerning religion; the special charge against him being that he had taught the plurality of worlds, a doctrine repugnant to the whole tenor of Scripture and inimical to revealed religion, especially as regards the plan of salvation. After an imprisonment of two years he was brought before his judge, declared guilty of the acts alleged, excommunicated, and, on his nobly refusing to recant, was delivered over to the secular authorities to be punished 'as mercifully as possible, and without the shedding of his blood,' the horrible formula for burning

* Draper. "Conflict between Religion and Science," pp. 171-172.

a prisoner at the stake. Knowing well that though his tormentors might destroy his body, his thoughts would still live among men, he said to his judges, "Perhaps it is with greater fear that you pass the sentence upon me than I receive it. The sentence was carried into effect, and he was burnt at Rome, February 16th, A.D. 1600." *

* Draper, *op. cit.* pp., 179-180.

B.—The Second Stage.

[A.D. 1600—]

The Reformation.

Western civilization entered on its second stage early in the seventeenth century. The Reformation in the closing century of the last stage was the earliest indication of the dawn of the intellectual consciousness of modern Europe. The leaders of that movement, however, were as averse to intellectual culture and were as ignorant, superstitious, intolerant and cruel as the ecclesiastics of the Church of Rome. The former no less than the latter believed that there was no knowledge, no science but what was in strict accordance with the Genesis. According to Luther, Aristotle is "truly a devil, a horrid calumniator, a wicked sycophant, a prince of darkness, a real Apollyon, a beast, a most horrid impostor on mankind, one in whom there is scarcely any philosophy, a public and professed liar, a goat, a complete epicure, this twice execrable Aristotle." He exclaimed when speaking of witchcraft: "I would have no compassion on these witches, I would burn them all." Knox declared, that "those who were

guilty of idolatry might justly be put to death." When Calvin had Servetus burnt for his opinions on the Trinity his action was applauded by nearly all sections of the Protestants and was warmly approved by Melanchthon.

Causes of the modern progress of Natural Science.

The intellectual movement of modern Europe began in the seventeenth century and may now be said to have attained its culminating point. The most characteristic feature which distinguishes it from the rationalistic movements of the second epoch, especially as developed in India, is the marvellous progress of Natural Science. The Aryans of northern and western Europe were not so favoured by their physical environment as their brethren who migrated to India. The physical surroundings of the latter were favourable to early economic development. The wants of the outer life easily satisfied, they had abundant leisure to turn their attention to the inner life. They were either in friendly intercourse with Nature or regarded it as a negligible factor in life. Far different was the case with their Western congeners. Throughout the second epoch they were engaged in a keen struggle for bare existence and were but little above the savage level. Their climate and their soil were adverse to economic progress, and their energies were exhausted in overcoming natural obstacles. They had little time left for introspection, cogitation and contemplation. Nature loomed large before them because they had constantly

to contend against her forces. The effort made by them to obtain mastery over her has left its impress upon their national character which exhibits qualities requisite for sustained action in an eminent degree. It has also developed a habit of mind which is as helpful for a minute investigation of the objective world as it is prejudicial to a close study of the subjective phenomena.

Philosophy.

It is probably owing to this reason, that when the proper time came, the Europeans displayed such a wonderful aptitude for the physical sciences. The general trend of the western intellect has during the current stage been as markedly scientific as that of the Hindu or Greek intellect in the corresponding stage of the last epoch was philosophic. There has no doubt been considerable progress in philosophy which reckons such eminent names as Descartes, Locke, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Schopenhauer among its devotees. But in the first place, their number is much smaller than that of the scientists. Secondly, the influence they have exerted upon contemporary thought dwindles into insignificance compared to that of the Naturalists. Thirdly, they have had a very solid foundation laid by the thinkers of the last epoch to build upon. Lastly, though there are probably not many who will agree with Schlegel, that in comparison with Hindu philosophy, "even the loftiest philosophy of the Europeans" appears "like a feeble Promethean spark in the full flood of the heaven-

ly glory of noon-day sun, faltering and feeble and ever ready to be extinguished," the fact is patent, that modern philosophy has not been advanced much beyond the point to which the ancients had carried it. In fact, as we have seen before, it is, to no small extent, only an echo of Hindu philosophy.

Mathematics.

As in philosophy, so in mathematics the moderns have had a very good basis to go upon. In this respect they are very largely indebted to the Moors of Spain who, as we saw before, not only spread the mathematical knowledge of the ancients in modern Europe, but also considerably improved upon it.* It is chiefly the pioneering educational work of the Spanish Moslems which rendered possible the brilliant achievements of such mathematicians as Descartes who applied algebra to geometry, Fermat, who perfected algebra, Kepler, Napier and Briggs, who invented logarithms, Newton,† who discovered the law of gravity, and Galileo, who revived and developed the system of Copernicus.

* The influence of the Saracens upon modern Europe is testified, among other things, by the large number of Arabic words in the European languages, such as algebra, cipher, zero, zenith, alcohol, elixir, alembic, alcove, arsenal, admiral, amulet, gala, &c.

† The discovery of the principle of the differential calculus is attributed to Newton. But there are good grounds for considering Bhâscarâchârya (who lived about the middle of the 12th century A.D.) to have been the precursor of Newton in this discovery as well as in its applications to astronomical problems and computations.

The inductive method of Modern Science.

In natural science also the ancients had done a deal of pioneering work and paved the way for the moderns. The ancients had grasped its central ideas. The principle of evolution, which has made such a stir in the modern scientific world, was enunciated by them several centuries before the Christian era, and was later on, taught in the schools of the Saracens. They (especially the Hindus) early rose up to the modern theories about the genesis and the age of the world, the vastitude of the changes it has undergone, and the conservation, transformation and dissipation of energy. But they did so chiefly by the deductive method. They did observe and experiment. The Hindus, for instance, used the rain-gauge, made careful observations of the different kinds of clouds and other atmospheric phenomena, such as the heights of the clouds, the distances from which lightening is ordinarily visible, the height to which the terrestrial atmosphere extends &c.* But the method of induction was not in favour with the thinkers of antiquity and they did not carry it very far. Natural science was cultivated by them mainly as subsidiary to metaphysics and medicine; and the progress they made in it dwindles into insignificance compared with the vast strides made by the West especially within the last

* B. N. Seal, "Scientific method of the Hindus" in Dr. P. C. Roy's "History of Hindu Chemistry," Vol. II. p. 228.

century. The keynote of modern science was sounded early in the seventeenth century by Bacon who, though not himself a scientist, developed the method of the investigation of nature by induction in his "Novum Organum." His motto, "Man is the servant and interpreter of nature," has been the motto of the intellectual development of modern Europe.

Physics.

Galileo (1564-1642) observing that the arcs of oscillation of a lamp which he watched in the cathedral of Pisa were all traversed in the same space of time formulated the law of the isochronism of the oscillation of a pendulum. The experiments of his disciple, Torricelli, on the weight of the atmosphere led him to construct the tubes which resulted in the invention of the barometer. In 1676, Mariotte discovered the law which retains his name—"that the temperature remaining the same, the volume of a given mass of any gas is in inverse proportion to the pressure it supports." At about the same time, Pepin (1647-1714) invented the first steam-engine with a piston and constructed a real steam-boat which was destroyed by jealous sailors. Nearly a century after Pepin, his invention was turned to account by Newcomen, and after him by Watt (1736-1819), a poor Scotch artisan, who devised improvements which resulted in the modern steam-engine. Experiments with the thermometer, initiated in the seventeenth century, were continued in the eighteenth by Celsius, Reaumur, and Fahrenheit. Experiments on

electricity were conducted by a number of physicists in England, France, and Germany, in the first half of the eighteenth century which resulted in the invention of the electric machine and the Leyden jar. Later on (1753), Franklin lighted upon the principle of atmospheric electricity, and Galvani and Volta upon that of dynamic electricity. In the nineteenth century, physical science made rapid strides and was extensively applied to industries. Biot discovered the polarization of light, Bunsen the spectrum analysis, Faraday the laws of electric induction, and Arago, Ampére and Oersted took the first steps in electro-magnetism. We need not in this brief sketch refer to subsequent developments as they must be fresh in the memory of the present generation.

Chemistry.

The progress of the science of chemistry has been as rapid and as wonderful as that of physics. Towards the close of the eighteenth century there arose four great chemists—Scheele, Lavoisier, Priestley and Cavendish. Priestley made a special investigation of the properties of oxygen, nitrogen, and the oxides of carbon. Scheele discovered prussic acid, arsenic acid, chlorine, oxalic acid &c. Lavoisier's chemical contributions are so remarkable that he has by some been regarded as the father of modern chemistry. Cavendish is noted for his experiments upon nitric acid, hydrogen &c. Among the legion of distinguished chemists of the last century

may be noted Davy, Gay-Lussac, Wollaston, Liebig and Dalton.

Biology.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the Swede Linnæus devised an admirable classification for plants, and Buffon published his celebrated work, the "Histoire Naturelle, générale et particuliére." They were followed by the eminent naturalists, P. de Candolle, who improved upon the Linnæan classification of plants, Cuvier, who reconstructed from a few fossil bones various animals which had preceded man on the earth, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, Alexander von Humboldt, and Brongniart. Since their time, the biological science has been immensely advanced by the theories and researches of Darwin, Wallace, Hæckel, Virchow, Huxley, A. Gray, and a host of other distinguished naturalists.

Geology.

It was in 1790, that Werner propounded, to his pupils at Freiburg, his doctrine of "Formations." In the same year, William Smith, an English surveyor, published his "Tabular view of the British Strata," in which he proposed a classification of the secondary formations in the West of England, each marked by its peculiar organic remains. A most animated controversy was then being carried on in Europe between the followers of Werner (Neptunists) and those of Hutton (Vulcanists). This was the beginning of geological science which has been adorned by such great names as those of Elie de Beaumont, Murchison and Lyell.

Industrial applications of Natural Science.

The practical applications of natural science, especially of physics and chemistry, have been even more marvellous than the discoveries of theoretical importance which we have briefly and cursorily referred to above. Railways, steam-navigation, electric telegraphs, friction matches, gas-lighting, electric lighting, the telephone, photography, the phonograph, and the Röntgen rays may be mentioned as some of the more remarkable inventions of the present age. The last century boasts of more brilliant inventions than all the previous centuries of human history put together. Science has been marching with bewildering rapidity, the goal of one generation becoming the starting point of the next.

The inventions just mentioned have caused a momentous revolution in the industrial world. About the beginning of the last century the industrial condition of the West was in no way better than that of the East. If anything it was worse. Calicoes had long been exported from India before they could be manufactured in England. In the beginning of the last century, England imported nearly two-thirds of the iron and much of the salt, earthenware &c. used by her. The cotton and iron manufactures of India were then largely exported to Europe. The situation has now been reversed. The application of labour-saving machinery has enabled the West not only to meet all her own manufactural requirements, but also to supply,

with the aid of steam-navigation and railways, the markets of Africa and the East.

C. *Ethical Development.*

Intellectual culture accelerates ethical progress.

As in the preceding, so in the present epoch, intellectual culture has been the antecedent of moral and spiritual progress. In Greece, it was the philosophers, and not the priests, who advanced morality. In India, the earliest impetus to ethical advancement was given by the authors of the Upanishads and of the various philosophical systems who seceded from the established cult of the country and who were noted for their latitudinarianism. The moving spirits of the moral amelioration of modern Europe also have mostly been men distinguished for intellectual culture outside the pale of the orthodox Church, whether Catholic or Protestant—sceptics, agnostics, positivists, pantheists and dissenters. Descartes, who may be considered the father of moral philosophy in modern Europe and whose writings greatly influenced the decline of dogmatic theology was denounced as an atheist by the Protestants, and held to be as dangerous as Luther or Calvin by the Catholics. Bentham, Mill, Herbert Spencer and a host of other great men whose writings have done so much to elevate the moral standard of Europe were all outside the Church. Among Christians, it is chiefly the dissenters who have furthered moral advancement. The Quakers

took the first steps towards the abolition of the nefarious slave trade. Men like Tolstoy who endeavour to lead a truly Christian life are disowned and anathematised by the Christian Church. The great philanthropist Howard, who led a life of "unsullied and fruitful beneficence," and who travelled over 40,000 miles in works of philanthropy was a dissenter. That the motive impulse of moral progress in modern Europe has come not from inside but from outside the orthodox Church is well shown by the history of the abolition of torture.

"What strikes us most" says Lecky "in considering the mediæval tortures, is not so much their diabolical barbarity, which it is indeed impossible to exaggerate, as the extraordinary variety, and what may be termed the artistic skill, they displayed. They represent a condition of thought in which men had pondered long and carefully on all the forms of suffering, had compared and combined the different kinds of torture, till they had become the most consummate masters of their art, had expended on the subject all the resources of the utmost ingenuity, and had pursued it with the ardour of a passion. The system was matured under the mediæval habit of thought, it was adopted by the inquisitors, and it received its finishing touches from their ingenuity. In every prison the crucifix and the rack stood side by side, and in almost every country the abolition of torture was at last effected by a movement which the church opposed and by men whom she had cursed.....In France, probably the first illustrious opponent of torture was Montaigne, the first of the French sceptics; the cause was soon afterwards taken up by Charron and by Bayle; it was then adopted by Voltaire, Montesquieu, and the encyclopædists; and it finally triumphed when the Church had been

shattered by the Revolution. In Spain torture began to fall into disuse under Charles III, on one of the few occasions when the Government was in direct opposition to the Church. In Italy the great opponent of torture was Beccaria, the friend of Helvétius and of Holbach, and the avowed exponent of the principles of Rousseau. Translated by Morellet, commented on by Voltaire and Diderot, and supported by the whole weight of the French philosophers, the work of Beccaria flew triumphantly over Europe, and vastly accelerated the movement that produced it. Under the influence of that movement, the Empress of Russia abolished torture in her dominions, and accompanied the abolition by an edict of toleration. Under the same influence, Frederick of Prussia, whose adherence to the philosophical principles was notorious, took the same step, and his example was speedily followed by Duke Leopold of Tuscany." [o]

Nature and extent of ethical development.

The moral phenomena presented by Western society are of a perplexingly contradictory character. On the one hand, the cessation of barbarous persecution for religious opinion, the humane treatment of criminals, and the expanding network of beneficent organisations for the relief of distress testify to considerable altruistic progress. On the other hand, the systematic exploitation and spoliation of the weaker peoples outside Europe and the barbarity and inhumanity with which they are not unfrequently treated, as well as the constant conflict, not unoften conducted on savage methods, between

[o] "History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe," Vol. I. pp. 328—331.

the different sections of the Western community, and the military and predatory spirit which pervades them, indicate but little development of the benevolent spirit.

Nature and extent of ethical development.

That there is a large number of individuals in the West who have advanced to the third stage and are animated by the noblest altruistic ideal is unquestionable. But they do not as yet appear to have influenced the activities and aspirations of the much larger classes who are in the lower stages to such an extent as to entitle the Western nations as a whole to a place in the third stage as we have defined it. Matter still dominates the spirit. The prevailing ideal of Western civilization is still materialistic, and the dominant Occidental view of life is still of a gladiatorial character. Christianity with its high ideal of self-sacrifice and benevolence cannot harmonise with the spirit of such a civilization. If a Christ or a Buddha were to appear now in the West, he would be ridiculed as a visionary by most people, and would make but little impression upon the rest. Wealth, not goodness or spirituality, is the criterion of rank in Western society. It is not the wise and the good, but the rich and the powerful who are respected and worshipped by the great majority of the community. While statues are raised to warriors and politicians, the sages die "unhonoured, unwept and unsung."* The world would hear but little of

* Herbert Spencer's imaginary observer "living in the far future" thus speaks of the distribution of monumental honors by the English people

such spiritually advanced men as Tolstoy but for their extraordinary literary gifts.

The physical environment of the West has, as we have seen before,* favoured the development of such qualities as energy, perseverance, endurance and determination in a remarkable degree. There is a marvellous display of these qualities, but chiefly in pursuit of material ends. What Lecky observes in the case of the Anglo-Saxon nations, holds more or less in the case of all the civilized peoples of the West: they "are habitually singularly narrow, unappreciative and unsympathetic."† This unsympathetic nature is the index of the imperfect development of the altruistic spirit of Christianity.

"To what an extent," observes John Stuart Mill,

of the nineteenth century: "To a physician named Jenner, who, by a mode of mitigating the ravages of a horrible disease, was said to have rescued many thousands from death, they erected a memorial statue in one of their chief public places. After some years, however, repenting them of giving to this statue so conspicuous a position, they banished it to a far corner of one of their suburban gardens, frequented chiefly by children and nursemaids ; and in its place they erected a statue to a great leader of their fighters—one Napier who had helped them to keep down certain weaker races. The reporter does not tell us whether this last had been instrumental in destroying as many lives as the first had saved ; but he remarks 'I could not cease wondering at this strange substitution among a people who professed a religion of peace'." ("The Study of Sociology" pp. 140—141).

Vide ante Ch. II pp., 36—37.

"History of European Morals," Introduction p. 153.

"doctrines intrinsically fitted to make the deepest impression upon the mind may remain in it as dead beliefs, without being ever realized in the imagination, the feeling, or the understanding, is exemplified by the manner in which the majority of believers hold the doctrines of Christianity. By Christianity I here mean what is accounted such by all churches and sects—the maxims and precepts contained in the new Testament. These are considered sacred, and accepted as laws, by all professing Christians. Yet it is scarcely too much to say that not one Christian in a thousand guides or tests his individual conduct by reference to those laws. The standard to which he does refer it, is the custom of his nation, class or his religious profession. He has thus on the one hand, a collection of ethical maxims, which he believes to have been vouchsafed to him by infallible wisdom as rules for his government; and on the other, a set of every day judgments and practices, which go a certain length with some of those maxims, not so great a length with others, stand in direct opposition to some, and are, on the whole, a compromise between the Christian creed and the interests and the suggestions of worldly life. To the first of these standards he gives his homage; to the other his real allegiance. All Christians believe that the blessed are the poor and humble, and those who are ill-used by the world; that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven; that they should judge not, lest

they be judged ; that they should swear not at all ; that they should love their neighbours as themselves ; that if one take their cloak, they should give him their coat also ; that they should take no thought for the morrow ; that if they would be perfect they should sell all that they have and give it to the poor. They are not insincere when they say that they believe these things....But in the sense of that living belief which regulates conduct, they believe these doctrines just up to the point to which it is usual to act upon them....The doctrines have no hold on ordinary believers—are not a power in their minds."*

Wealth being the indispensable condition of the realisation of the materialistic ideal of Western civilization, its acquisition engages large multitudes of the Occidentals in endless industrial and commercial pursuits, and nature and man in all quarters of the globe have been made to minister to their ever-increasing wants. This is, however, often accomplished in a way which is not consonant with ethical principles. Matters do not now appear to be very different now from what they were when the following was written by Herbert Spencer in 1876 :

"In China, India, Polynesia, Africa, the East Indian Archipelago, reasons—never wanting to the aggressor—are given for widening our empire : without force if it may be, and with force if needful. After annexing the Fiji Islands, voluntarily ceded only because there was no practicable alternative, there comes now the proposal to take possession of Samoa. Accepting in exchange a territory subject to a treaty, we ignore the treaty and make the

* "On Liberty." Ch. II, pp. 23-24.

assertion of it a ground for war with the Ashantees. In Sherbro our agreements with native chiefs having brought about universal disorder, we send a body of soldiers to suppress it, and presently will allege the necessity of extending our rule over a large area. So again in Perak.....Be it in the slaying of Karen tribes who resist surveyors of their territory, or be it in the demand made on the Chinese in pursuance of the doctrine that a British traveller, sacred wherever he may choose to intrude, shall have his death avenged on some one, we everywhere find pretexts for differences which lead to acquisitions. In the House of Commons and in the Press, the same spirit is shown. During the debate on the Suez-Canal purchase, our Prime Minister, referring to the possible annexation of Egypt, said that the English people, wishing the Empire to be maintained, 'will not be alarmed even if it be increased' ; and was cheered for so saying. And recently, urging that it is time to blot out Dahomey, the weekly organ of filibustering Christianity exclaims—"Let us take Whydah, and leave the savage to recover it."*

The way in which the earlier European immigrants treated the aboriginal peoples of America, Africa and Australia forms a sad chapter in the history of man. That chapter does not appear to be quite closed as yet. † The cruelties perpetrated by civilised Western

* "Principles of Sociology," Vol. I, pp. 602—603.

† The speech of the Indian Red-Jacket in answer to a European missionary who went to preach Christianity among the American Indians (Winterbottom's "America" quoted in "Colonisation and Christianity", by Howitt, pp. 399-401), finds an echo in the hearts of many even at the present day :—

"Brother listen to what we say. There was a time when our forefathers owned this great land. ...But an evil day came upon us ! Your forefathers crossed the great waters, and landed on this land. Their numbers were small ; they found friends and not enemies ; they told us

powers in Africa are of recent date, as are also the barbarities committed by the troops of the Western Powers in China to revenge the mutiny of the Boxers and the killing of an ambassador. Notwithstanding the famous declaration of independence intimating that "all men are born equal, &c.," Negroes in many parts of America, even those who are well-educated and prosperous, are not allowed to ride in the same vehicle as the whites, let alone eat together in the same restaurant. They are often mobbed and "lynched" in a most barbarous manner.*

they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and came here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat. We took pity on them, granted their request, and they sat down among us. We gave them corn and meat, and they gave us poison (spirituous liquor) in return. The white people had now found out our country, tidings were carried back, and more came amongst us; yet we did not fear them, we took them to be friends; they called us brothers, we believed them and gave them a large seat. At length their numbers had greatly increased, they wanted more land, they wanted our country. Our eyes were opened, and our minds became uneasy. Wars took place; Indians were hired to fight against Indians, and many of our people were destroyed. They also brought strong liquor among us; it was strong and powerful, and has slain thousands. Brother, our seats were once large, and yours were very small. You have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets. You have got our country, but are not satisfied—you want to force your religion upon us."

*The following is extracted from a recent issue of an English newspaper:

"An excited mob have lynched a negro in the Boat House Square at Houston, Mississippi, because they believed him to be the murderer of a respected white woman who was found dead in her home. Another negro

The system of indentured labour which obtained in Natal until quite recently and is still prevalent in some other colonies is but little distinguished from slavery. Aristotle's definition of the term "slave" as a "live tool" applies to the indentured labourers in Queensland, Demerara, Fiji and various other colonies. He is exploited without any regard for his own interest. In Natal the rate of suicide among indentured Indians was 551 per million during the quinquennium 1904–08 whereas the suicide rate in India is 37 per million. The domiciled Indians in Natal are denied the right of entry into the province of their wives and children : and an invidious and obnoxious tax of £ 3 per annum is imposed upon every Indian, male as well as female. The Imperial Government is disposed to do justice to the Indians as the discontent created by their ill treatment among all classes of the population in India is an element of political danger, but is helpless, as are also some noble-minded Englishmen who sympathise with the Indians of Natal and Transvaal.

The compound and location systems which prevail

was lynched the previous day on the same charge, but the possession of a diamond ring, thought to be the property of the dead woman by the latter victim, was regarded by the mob as sufficient evidence to kill him also. The victim was taken to the square and chained to an iron post. A kettle of tar was poured over him and then faggots were piled about him. He was allowed to talk for a short time after which the brother of the murdered woman applied a match to the dry wood. The woman's father prevented the prolonged torture of the victim by elbowing his way through the throng and shooting the negro four times."

in South Africa for exploiting black labour, do not differ much, if at all, from slavery, and lead to the most deplorable demoralisation. Once in the location, the natives are prevented by law from having enough land to live upon, prevented from leaving the land by a rigorous system of passes, deliberately reduced to destitution by a hut tax and a labour tax; and thus forced to work at two-pence a day, or whatever wage the Chamber of Mines thinks fit. The essential cause of cruelty and oppression in South Africa, according to Mr. Bryce, is "the strong feeling of dislike and contempt —one might almost say of hostility—which the bulk of the whites show towards their black neighbours."

"A white farmer and an Englishman, not a Boer—flogged his Kafir servant so severely, that the latter died; and when the culprit was put on his trial and acquitted by a white jury, his white neighbours escorted him home with a band of music."*

"Let no one delude himself" says Gilbert Murray "with the fancy, that though the German Dr. Peters may flog his concubines to death, though Frenchmen in the New Hebrides may twist the flesh off their servants' backs with pincers, though our own newspapers may revel in reported horrors from the old Transvaal or the Congo Free State, Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen are quite of another breed. Not to speak of strange and unpleasant dealings with black women, I myself knew well one man who told me he had shot blacks at sight. I have met a man who boasted of having spilt poisoned meal along a road near a black fellows' camp, in

* "Impressions of South Africa," p. 355.

order to get rid of them like rats. My brother was the guest of a man in Queensland who showed him a particular bend of a river where he had once, as a jest, driven a black family, man, woman, and children, into the water among a shoal of crocodiles. My father has described to me his fruitless efforts to get men punished in New South Wales in old days for offering hospitality to blacks and giving them poisoned meat. I received, while first writing these notes, a newspaper from Perth, giving an account of the trial of some Coolgardia Miners for beating to death with heavy bits of wood a black woman and boy who had been unable to show them the way. The bodies were found with the shoulder-blades in shivers, and the judge observed that such cases were getting too common! These atrocities are not necessarily the work of isolated and extraordinary villains. Two of the men mentioned above were rather good men than bad. Nor have I mentioned the worst class of outrages."*

Military and predatory spirit still prevalent.

The military and predatory spirit which is characteristic of the first stage of civilization, though on the wane, is still prevalent to an extent which does not consist with the ethical standard of the third stage. The armaments of Europe have been increasing apace, and, it seems, will continue to increase so long as material progress remains the goal of Western civilization. The war which is going on now† in the southeast of Europe may be said to be waged by nations who are not high in the scale of Western civilization. But the same remark does not apply to the recent aggressive war in Tripoli and the barbarities that attended it. Compulsory

* "Liberalism and the Empire," pp. 153-154.

† This was written in February, 1913.

military service prevails among several of the most highly civilized nations of the west. The rather too frequent well-organised strikes of the labouring classes, the "Havenots," to remedy their wrongs and obtain their rights from the capitalist classes, the "Haves," sometimes attain the magnitude of civil wars. The ultimate question between every two nations, and between the different classes of every nation, even more than between every two human beings, still is, unfortunately, in the highly expressive though somewhat exaggerated language of Carlyle: "Can I kill thee, or canst thou kill me." Militarism pervades even the cultured classes to no small extent. There are warlike representatives of science and literature, as there are militant dignitaries of the Christian church who from their pulpits invoke the aid and blessing of Heaven on aggressive wars involving the wanton destruction of thousands of fellow creatures. Even cultured ladies of England (the Suffragettes) are having recourse to brutal and diabolical methods to wrest what they consider to be their rights from government.

Supposed beneficent work of the West in Africa, the Oceania and the East.

The notion is prevalent in some circles in the West that the Europeans are on a benevolent mission of progress and civilization in Africa, the Oceania and the East. The placid self-complacency with which such assertions are made would almost make one suspect a vein of irony in them. The primary test of benevolence is self-sacrifice. Any action the main-

spring of which is self-interest, especially pecuniary interest, cannot be dignified as benevolent. Granting that the spread of the highly material civilization of the West would be beneficial to humanity, a very questionable supposition, to say the least, it can hardly be said that the Europeans undertake the work in a spirit of self-abnegation.

Never before in the history of man was the establishment of such world-wide empires ever attempted as it has been in recent times by the foremost Western Powers. The extent and solidarity of the modern empires are due mainly to the annihilation of distance by steam and electricity. The ancient empires were not only of much smaller extent than those that are being built up at the present day, but the gulf between the conquerors and the conquered was not so wide as it is now. The conquerors generally had to settle in the lands they conquered. Communication with their parent country was either cut off altogether, as in the case of the Aryans in India, or was slow and intermittent, as in the case of the Greeks in Western Asia. Intermarriage between the conquerors and the conquered gradually took place. Alexander married a Persian princess and encouraged his officers and soldiers to intermarry. The bigotry even of the Mohammedan conquerors of India gradually wore off, and several of the Mogul emperors of India took Hindu wives. Thus there was a tendency towards the effacement of the line of demarcation between the conquerors and

the conquered, and there sprung up sympathetic relations between them. They gradually came to have common interests, common language, and in a few cases even common religion. The greater majority of the Hindus are the offspring of the Aryan invaders and the non-Aryan aborigines of India, as the English are the descendants of the Saxon and Norman conquerors and the aboriginal population of England.

The object of the Western conqueror or exploiter is to squeeze as much as possible out of the conquered and the exploited peoples and enjoy it at home. The facilities afforded by steam communication enable him to do that with ease and comfort. The social barrier between the white and the coloured is impassable. There can be no lasting and real sympthy between them. The moral results of such contact have been disastrous alike to the exploiter and the exploited.*

The methods of the political or commercial missionary of the West are such as may well make the

"There is nothing more common," says Lecky, "than for men who in private life are models of the most scrupulous integrity to justify or excuse the most flagrant acts of political dishonesty and violence...Not unfrequently too by a curious moral paradox, political crimes are closely connected with national virtues. A people who are submissive, gentle and loyal, fall by reason of these very qualities under a despotic government, but this uncontrolled power has never failed to exercise a most pernicious influence on rulers, and their numerous acts of rapacity and aggression being attributed in history to the nation they represent, the national character is wholly misrepresented. ("History of European Morals," Introduction).

realisation of the dream of peace descending in a "drapery of calico," dreamt of by the Manchester politicians, as remote as ever.

It should be noted, that there are a few thoughtful men in the West who are wise enough to see, and honest enough to admit, that the Europeans have not been pursuing a benevolent mission of progress in Asia, Africa and the Oceania. Says A. de Quatrefages :—

"Fundamentally the white, even when civilised, from the moral point of view, is scarcely better than the negro, and too often by his conduct in the midst of inferior races has justified the argument opposed by a Malagache to a missionary : 'Your soldiers seduce all our women....You come to rob us of our land, pillage the country, and make war against us ; and you wish to force your God upon us, saying that He forbids robbery, pillage, and war ! Go; you are white upon one side, and black upon another'. Such is the criticism of a savage. The following is that of a European, M. Rose, giving his opinion of his own countrymen : 'The people are simple and confiding when we arrive, perfidious when we leave them. Once sober, brave and honest, we make them drunken, lazy, and finally thieves. After having inoculated them with our vices, we employ these vices as an argument for their destruction.' However severe these conclusions may appear they are unfortunately true, and the history of the relations of Europeans with the populations they

have encountered in America, at the Cape, and in Oceania justify them only too fully."

The peoples conquered by the Europeans in various parts of the world are, in the words of John Stuart Mill :—

"without any potential voice in their own destiny. They exercise no will in respect to their collective interests. All is decided for them by a will not their own, which is legally a crime for them to disobey. What sort of human beings can be formed under such a regimen ? What development can either their thinking or their active faculties attain under it ?...A person must have very unusual taste for intellectual exercise in and for itself who will put himself to the trouble of thought when it is to have no outward effect, or to qualify himself for functions which he has no chance of being allowed to exercise."†

"Let us conceive," observes C. H. Pearson, "the leading European nations to be stationary, while the black and yellow belt, including China, Malaysia, India, Central Africa and Tropical America is all teeming with life, developed by industrial enterprise, fairly well administered by native governments, and owning the greater part of the carrying trade of the world. Can any one suppose that, in such a condition of political society, the habitual temper of mind of Europe would not be profoundly changed ? Depression, hopelessness,

"The Human Species," pp. 461-462.

"Considerations on Representative Government," p. 10.

a disregard of invention and improvement would replace the sanguine confidence of races that at present are always panting for new worlds to conquer."*

D. The Outlook.

Persistent Materialism.

The persistence of materialism even in such an advanced stage of intellectual progress as has now been reached by the Western world, naturally raises the question—whether Western civilization will share the fate of such material civilizations as those of Rome, Assyria and Phœnicia, or will it attain the equipoise and harmonious development of the third stage? There are some circumstances which are unfavourable, and there are others which are favourable to a hopeful outlook. Paradoxical as the statement may appear to Western readers, the numberless industrial applications of Natural science, which are the wonder and admiration of the age, are the most important among the former. Spiritual and ethical development was the goal of the intellectual culture of the ancients, especially of the Hindus. However various the paths commended by them for salvation, they all agree in denouncing egoism and in suppressing the animal side of man.

* "National Life and Character," p. 130.

They have sought happiness by self-denial, not by self-indulgence, by curtailing the wants of life, not by increasing them, by suppressing desires, not by gratifying them. Western science, on the other hand, takes but little account of anything but the phenomenal world and the life in it. It takes but little heed of spiritual life, and seeks to accomplish the well-being of man by material developments, by the gratification of his senses, by adding to his physical comforts and conveniences, by multiplying his wants and desires. The ancient sages sought spiritual development at the expense of the animal; the modern scientists seek the expansion of the animal life, taking but little account of the spiritual. The ancients regarded spiritual as to a large extent antagonistic to material progress, and counselled retirement from the world to those who were specially desirous of spiritual development. They, no doubt, exaggerated the antagonism. But the modern scientists of the West, on the other hand, are so dazzled by the colossal material developments around them that they are apt to overestimate their value.

Unequal distribution of wealth.

The result of the industrial applications of natural science has, on the whole, been distinctly adverse to ethical development. The labour-saving machinery and appliances which have come so largely into vogue, have created capitalism, one of the greatest curses of the Western social state. No industry on a small scale and

with a small capital can be remunerative at the present day. Concentration of capital is the essential condition of modern industrial expansion. The success or failure of an industry depends chiefly upon the scale and quality of the machinery, and, therefore, upon the amount of capital. The larger the capital, the more will it command high class expensive machinery and appliances, the larger consequently will be the margin of profit. Thus capital tends to be concentrated within a small section of the community.

Capitalism is decidedly not making for moral progress. It has substituted urban for unquestionably healthier rural conditions of life, and has led to enormous inequality in the distribution of wealth. The number of millionaires and multimillionaires has been growing but in inverse ratio to the number of the wretched poor on the brink of starvation. This poverty, in the forcible words of Prof. Huxley, is

"a condition in which food, warmth, and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state, cannot be obtained ; in which men, women and children are forced to crowd into dens where decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment : in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness ; in which pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation : in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger rounded by a pauper's grave. ...I take it to be a mere plain truth, that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manu-

facturing city which is free from a large mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass, who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it."*

"About one-third of the total population of London" [says Dr. A. R. Wallace] "are living miserable poverty-stricken lives, the bulk of them with grinding, hopeless toil, only modified by the still worse conditions of want of employment with its accompaniments of harassing anxiety and partial starvation. And this is a true picture of what exists in all our great cities and to somewhat less degree of intensity over the whole country. There is surely very little indication here of any improvement in the condition of the people. Can it be maintained, has it ever been suggested—that in the early part of the century [the 19th century] more than one-third of the inhabitants of London did not have sufficient of the bare necessaries of life? In order that there may have been any considerable improvement, in any degree commensurate with the vast increase of wealth, a full half of the entire population of London must then have lived in this condition of want and misery; and I am not aware that any writer has ever suggested, much less proved, that such was the case. I believe, myself, that in no earlier period has there been such a large proportion of our population living in absolute want below the margin of poverty as at the present time."†

"Evolution and Ethics and other Essays," pp. 214-216.

"The Wonderful Century," pp. 345-346.

"What has destroyed every previous civilization," says Henry George, "has been the tendency to the unequal destribution of wealth and power. This same tendency, operating with increasing force, is observable in our civilization to-day, showing itself in every progressive community, and with greater intensity the more progressive the community. Wages and interest tend constantly to fall, rent to rise, the rich to become very much richer, the poor to become more helpless and hopeless, and the middle class to be swept away." ("Progress and Poverty," p. 374.)

As corroborative of this statement, Dr. Wallace, writing in the beginning of the present century, cites figures from the reports of the Registrar General to show that the proportion of deaths in work-houses, hospitals, and in other public institutions in London, had been increasing during the closing years of the last century. In 1861—65, the proportion was 16·2 per cent.: in 1892—96 it was 26·9. In England and Wales suicides increased most alarmingly from 1,347 in 1861 to 2,796 in 1895, the increase in proportion to population during the same period having been from 67 per million to 92 per million. Serious crime has been increasing. The number of persons tried for indictable offences rose from 50,494 in 1899 to 59,960 in 1904, and to 68,116 in 1908.

"The evidence for the enormous increase of the total mass of misery and want," says Dr. Wallace, "is overwhelming, while that it has increased even faster than the increase of population is, to my mind, almost equally clear."*

"Everywhere," observes Henry George, "the increasing intensity of the struggle to live, the increasing necessity for strainning every nerve to prevent being thrown down and trodden under foot in the scramble for wealth, is draining the forces which gain and maintain inprovements. In every civilized country the

* "The Wonderful Century," p. 363.

diseases are increasing which come from over strained nerves, from insufficient nourishment, from squalid lodgings, from unwholesome and monotonous occupations, from premature labour of children, from the tasks and crimes which poverty imposes upon women. In every highly civilized country the expectation of life which gradually rose for several centuries and which seems to have culminated about the first quarter of this century appears to be now diminishing."*

Such is the picture of the present condition of the mass of the people in the West drawn by foremost Western writers, two of them eminent scientific men skilled in weighing evidence.

Over-production.

Besides capitalism, over-production is another serious evil caused by labour-saving machinery. A great deal more is produced by the West than is required by it. Consequently, the manufacturers of the West have to seek for markets in Asia and Africa. This is the chief reason of the establishment of spheres of influence in these continents by the Western Powers, by methods which are hardly consistent with the Christian standard of morality. They are impelled to this sort of career by sheer necessity. They cannot help it. There are men in the West who sincerely wish to do away with wars altogether if they could. But all the same, the armaments of the West have been increasing apace ; and they will conti-

* "Progress and Poverty," p. 384.

nue to increase apace so long as industrialism prevails as it does now. New markets must be found for the ever-increasing manufactures of Europe.

Causes of the military and predatory spirit of the West.

The industrial applications of modern science are mainly responsible for the prevailing military and predatory proclivities in the West. Markets must be opened up and controlled for the multifarious produce of the gigantic mills and factories of the West, and outlets must be found for Western enterprise. "On the whole it seems," says Mr. Cunningham, "that the age of invention has not made for peace ; it has given new facilities for organised warfare, while international jealousies and rivalries have become keener, as various countries aim at securing economic independence and vie in obtaining markets for their manufactures."*

The colossal armaments maintained by the great powers of Europe are mainly for the expansion and protection of their interests abroad ; and these interests are chiefly commercial. It is over such interests that Russia came into conflict with Japan in the Far East, Italy with Turkey in Africa, and Germany was very near being drawn into war with France in Morocco sometime ago. The great wars of the future will be fought not for interests in Europe, but for interests abroad. New markets, which in Western vocabulary have come to mean possessions, or spheres of influence, must be found

* "Western Civilization (Mediæval and Modern Times)," p. 264.

for the ever-increasing manufactures of Europe. "As machine industry has been developed in different lands," says Cunningham, "producers have become ambitious of obtaining access not only to home but to foreign markets. Nations that wished to secure exclusive markets for their goods have engaged in a scramble for territory in Africa, and for spheres of influence in the Far East."*

The railway and steam navigation, by promoting friendly intercourse between the East and the West might have knit the bonds of human brotherhood closer, but have tended only to loosen them by facilitating the transport of Western merchandise, Western troops, and Western engines of destruction, and by rendering possible the government or control of tropical and subtropical regions from temperate Europe. Labour-saving machinery could not have done the harm it has done if it had not been helped by cheap and quick means of transit. But for these, Western manufactures, could not have been sent abroad on such an extensive scale as they are now, nor could they have competed with the hand-made manufactures of the industrially backward

* "Western Civilization (Modiæval and Modern Times)," p. 264. "France, Germany, Belgium and England have established distinct spheres of influence in Africa. In the Far East a similar process is going on; a great part of Asia is under the control of Russia, and England governs the thickly populated area of India; while the United States aspire to an indefinite protectorate in the New World and the Islands of the Pacific. (Cunningham, "Western Civilization, Mediæval and Modern Times" p. 263).

peoples as they do now, and the Western Powers would not have been so eager to possess or control the markets of Asia and Africa as they are now.

The influence of the numerous improvements effected in arms and ammunition by modern science has been highly detrimental to the well-being of mankind in general and of the Asiatics and Africans in particular. Might has always been right in this world. But the improved arms of long range and precision, and the explosives which have so largely come into use in recent times, have made might much mightier than ever before. The weak and ignorant have always been more or less oppressed or exploited by the strong and the cunning, but never so extensively, fearlessly, and systematically as at the present day.

Excessive growth of luxury.

One of the most important effects of the innumerable inventions for gratifying our senses has been to perpetually multiply our wants and raise the standard of living, so that the goal of luxury to-day becomes the starting point of necessity to-morrow. The Occidental generally takes a very favourable view of this excessive growth of luxury. Lecky, for instance, says :—

"In the atmosphere of luxury that increased wealth produces, refined tastes, perceptions of beauty, intellectual aspirations appear. Faculties that were before dormant are evoked, new directions are given to human energies, and, under the impulse of the desire for wealth, men arise to supply each new want that wealth has

produced. Hence, for the most part, arise art and literature, and science, and all the refinements and elaborations of civilization, and all the inventions that have alleviated the sufferings or multiplied the enjoyments of mankind."*

It cannot be said that European Art of the present day is in any way superior to the Art of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries; and in literature, a marked falling off in the standard of excellence has, of late, been noticeable. The expansion of mechanical invention has, no doubt, been highly favourable to the growth of the physical sciences. But, as we have seen above, it is the multitudinous economic applications of these sciences which have led to industrialism, and industrialism is responsible for the most serious moral evils of the Western society.

Normally industrial and commercial expansion is antagonistic to the military spirit and favours peace and the virtues it fosters. And in the nascent stage of modern industrialism, the Manchester politicians expected the Angel of Peace to descend in a "drapery of calico." Their expectation, however, has not been realised. The relation of modern industrialism to militarism has been rather that of allies than of enemies. Extreme concentration of capital on the one hand, and extreme poverty on the other, immense increase in the elaboration and complexity of the conditions of

* "Rationalism in Europe," Vol. II, pp. 366-367.

life and ceaseless rise of the standard of comforts and luxuries leading to perpetual enhancement of the intensity of the struggle for animal existence and to inordinate greed for wealth, and the substitution of urban for a decidedly healthier rural condition of life on an enormous scale, are some of the other evils which have flowed from modern industrialism. Indirectly, it has been favourable to the growth of egoistic, and unfavourable to the development of altruistic qualities.

Modern science on its theoretical side has led to most commendable results. On its practical side also, in medicine and surgery, its effect has been to alleviate human misery. But the good thus conferred is confined to an insignificant fraction of humanity, and is far outweighed by the evils wrought by its excessive industrial applications. If modern science had not lent its aid so largely to inordinate material progress, and had kept more within the bounds of intellectual culture and ethical development, it would have been an unqualified good. But its wonderful and ceaseless mechanical inventions, which form such a fertile theme for exuberant encomium in the West, arouse in us feelings of anxiety and apprehension.

The animal necessities of life render a certain amount of struggle for material development inevitable. But the object of ethical and spiritual progress should be, rather to minimise than to intensify it. The more our energies are absorbed by it, the less scope

there is for their employment in the higher struggle of the soul for the attainment of a better condition.

The mechanical progress of the age has, in fact, rendered a simple ethical life almost an impossibility in the West. Work under modern Western conditions with railways, telegraphs, telephones, and an infinity of other ingenious contrivances for condensing a large amount of work within a small amount of time, causes a wear and tear of the nervous system, the reparation of which necessitates a rather high standard of living; and an infinity of inventions for the gratification of our senses fosters and promotes it. As there is no limit to mechanical development, there is also no limit to the elevation of the standard of living; and ceaseless rise of this standard implies equally ceaseless struggle for the acquisition and accumulation of wealth. Mechanical elaboration has also contributed to the intensity of this struggle by making concentration of capital an indispensable condition of industrial development and commercial expansion on which Western civilization rests. There has never been a community of any size which has emerged out of the primitive stage in which certain sections have not been ardent votaries of Mammon. But there never has been a civilized society in which Mammonism has been so universally prevalent as in the Western social state of the present day. The high-born as well as the low-born, the educated and cultured as well as the uneducated and ignorant, all are eagerly engaged in the insane race for wealth;

and in that motley group there may occasionally be recognized even ministers of religion who know or should know better than other people, that it would be easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.† They cannot resist the influence of their environment. They can no more help being carried along by the tide of material progress than a piece of floating wood can help being drifted by the rushing stream. People are but little guided in their mode of living by philosophy. Fashion rules them ; and even the most rational men are found among the most irrational votaries of fashion.

Continuous increase of luxury, besides the moral degeneration to which it inevitably leads sooner or later, is attended by other evil consequences of a serious nature. It is undeniable that a large number of the Western working-men are now better lodged, better fed and better clothed than they were half a century ago, but the gulf between their material condition and that of their masters is wider than ever. The relative

"Commerce has set the mark of selfishness,
The signet of its all-enslaving power,
Upon a shining ore, and called it Gold ;
Before whose image bow the vulgar great,
The vainly rich, the miserable proud.
The mob of peasants, nobles, priests, and kings,
And with blind feelings reverence the power
That grinds them to the dust of misery." *Shelley.*

poverty of the Western working-man has increased where his actual poverty has not. Therein lies the secret of the growing discontent and restlessness even among the comparatively well-to-do labouring classes in Europe. The increase of luxury naturally begins at the top of the social scale. When a desire for it reaches the bottom, as it must do sooner or later, there is heart-burning. With every addition to the wealth and luxury of the upper classes, unless there be a corresponding addition to the wealth and luxury of the lower classes, the latter will be discontented, and will clamour for a rise in their wages and for shorter working hours. After a period of loss and anxiety on the side of the masters, and of misery and barbarity on the side of the working men, the dispute between them is compromised, but never satisfactorily settled. As the standard of luxury is perpetually rising in the West, the struggle between capital and labour is perpetually recurring.

Democracy.

According to Hegel the history of mankind is a history of the "necessary development of the free spirit through the different forms of political organisations; the first being that of the Oriental monarchy, in which freedom belongs to the monarch only; the second that of the Greco-Roman Republics in which a select body of free citizens is sustained on a basis of slavery; while finally in the modern societies sprung from the Teutonic invasion of the decaying Roman empire, freedom is recognized

as the natural right of all members of the community."* This conclusion is based upon what appears to be an incorrect interpretation of sociological phenomena. Inequality and restriction of freedom are the necessary concomitants of differentiation of function and, therefore, of social progress. In primitive societies where even the chief is but little distinguished from the rest of the community, there is considerable individual freedom, and the government is generally democratic. The curtailment of freedom imposed by the Oriental monarchy was the result of considerable social organisation and progress. The right of equality enjoyed by the Teutonic peoples even at the time of Tacitus was subsequently lost in the course of social evolution. The democratic movement of modern Europe originated in a revulsion of feeling against the despotism of the Middle Ages and is an attempt to go back to the primitive condition of freedom. The progress of a community is never a continuous forward movement. It is the resultant of various forces which pull it in different, and some times opposite, directions. The regulating organisation which is necessitated by increased differentiation gradually usurps more authority than is needful or beneficial for progress. The regulated part of the community in course of time rebels against such encroachment and tries to recover the ground lost by it. The democratic agita-

* Sidgwick, "History of Ethics," p. 280.

tion inaugurated by the French Revolution is such a movement. By restoring the balance between the regulating and the regulated parts of the community it greatly helped progress in various ways for a time.

But the abiding progress of a community depends upon whether the influence of the wise and the good, the individuals in the third stage, preponderates over the influence of the numerically larger classes in the lower stages, whether the upward force exerted by the former is stronger than the downward impulse exerted by the latter. Under excessive democratic influence the elevatory movement tends to be greatly weakened. The evils of democracy in one of the most advanced countries of the West are thus graphically described by Henry George :—

"This transformation of popular government into despotism of the vilest and most degrading kind..... ..... has already begun in the United States, and is rapidly going on under our eyes. That our legislative bodies are steadily deteriorating in standard; that men of the highest ability and character are compelled to eschew politics, and the arts of the jobber count for more than the reputation of the statesman; that voting is done more recklessly and the power of money is increasing; that it is harder to arouse the people to the necessity of reforms and more difficult to carry them out; that political differences are ceasing to be differences of principle, and abstract ideas are losing their power; that parties are passing into the control of what in general government would be oligarchies and dictatorships; are all evidences of political decline. The type of modern growth is the great city. Here are to be

found the greatest wealth and the deepest poverty. And it is here that popular government has most clearly broken down. In all the great American cities there is to-day as clearly defined a ruling class as in the most aristocratic countries of the world. Its members carry wards in their pockets, make up the slates for nominating conventions, distribute offices as they bargain together, and—though they toil not, neither do they spin—wear the best of raiment and spend money lavishly. They are men of power, whose favour the ambitious must court, and whose vengeance he must avoid. Who are these men? The wise, the good, the learned men who have earned the confidence of their fellow-citizens by the purity of their lives, the splendour of their talents, their probity in public trusts, their deep study of the problems of government? No; they are gamblers, saloon-keepers, pugilists, or worse, who have made a trade of controlling votes and of buying and selling offices and official acts. They stand to the government of these cities as Prætorian guards did to that of declining Rome."*

Mr. Henry George is so deeply impressed by the evils of democracy that he goes on to say:—

"I speak of the United States only because the United States is the most advanced of all the great nations. What shall we say of Europe, where dams of ancient law and custom pen up the swelling waters and standing armies weigh down the safety valves, though year by year the fires grow hotter underneath? Europe tends to republicanism under conditions that will not admit of true republicanism—under conditions that substitute for the calm and august figure of Liberty the petroleuse and the guillotine!

Whence shall come the new barbarians? Go through the squalid quarters of great cities, and you may see, even now, their gathering

* "Progress and Poverty," p. 378.

hordes! How shall learning perish? Men will cease to read, and books will kindle fires and be turned into catridges!"*

Possible decay of Western Industrialism in the future.

Industrialism being the most formidable obstacle in the way of the ethical and spiritual advancement of the West, any causes which tend to bring about its decadence would obviously facilitate the passage of Western civilization into the third stage. There are two such important causes in operation just now. The yearly increasing competition of the hitherto industrially backward races like the Chinese and the Japanese is slowly sapping the foundations of Western industrialism. The industrial development of Japan in recent years has been quite phenomenal. Since 1882, her railways have increased from 470 miles to 5,000 miles, her mercantile tonnage of ships has increased 1847 per cent., the number of steamships 471 per cent., and their tonnage 1574 per cent. The motive power in Japanese factories has, since 1882, risen from 6,300 to 234,000 horse power, and the customs revenue of Japan has increased 1358 per cent. China also has been marching rapidly, though at a slower pace than Japan, on the path of industrial development on Western methods. Hankow, the most important industrial centre of China, has the biggest steel and iron-works in Asia. China with her mammoth popu-

* "Progress and Poverty," pp. 381-382.

lation and her immense deposits of coal and iron has potentialities which, when actualized, promise to make her a great industrial Power in the East. According to Baron von Richthofen, the mineral resources of China cover an area of some four hundred nineteen thousand square miles with almost inexhaustible deposits of iron-ore and some six hundred million tons of the best anthracite coal.

While there is every probability, that Europe will, in the near future, have to face the keen competition of Japan and China in the eastern markets, her capacity to meet it successfully is being diminished by constant conflict between capital and labour. Dissatisfaction and unrest among workers have been increasing, especially in England, the foremost industrial country in Europe. There were two great strikes there during last year, the national coal strike during February and March, and the transport workers' strike in London in May, June and July. Both were disastrous to trade and industry. The miners' strike* caused stoppage of work in every coalfield in England, Scotland and Wales. The tinplate works of Swansea and the iron-works at Sheffield and Leeds had to be closed, and the chartering of vessels at Newcastle, Cardiff, Glasgow, and Liverpool stopped. The direct loss in coal production and other industries has been estimated at

* There were 1,049,407 labourers (miners and surface-men) on strike.

£20,000,000. The indirect losses were very much greater.*

The operation of the two causes mentioned above—competition with China and Japan in Eastern markets, and labour disputes—may not unreasonably be expected to increase in stringency in the future, and is calculated to bring about the decadence of European industrialism. Such a result, though dreaded by the Occidentals as a calamity now would prove to be a blessing to them in disguise. It would check their military and predatory propensities, for they would cease to have the keen interest which they now have in the maintenance and expansion of their dependencies and spheres of influence

Mr. Ben Tillet, who led the London transport workers in their strike writing in the "Clarion" on "The Present Unrest," says :—

"There are 800,000 colliery workers and 130,000 cotton operatives involved already, and there is the possibility of another 300,000 workers from other industries coming into the dispute. There it is : more than a million of people who are discontented with their conditions and who have made up their minds that there is to be a fight.

"More than a million of the principal workers of the country on strike! What a world of meaning there is in such words! It only needs the transport workers to take a hand in the business and then the fat would be in the fire with a vengeance. What a row and a rumpus !.....

"These people are so insignificant yet they can stop all the work of the country. They can make a refuse heap of a navy, can make derelict the most up-to-date and modern expressions of science in the newest factory, can stop the swift-speeding locomotive, can stay the wheels of civilisation. Transport, manufactures, food supplies, trade of every and any description can be paralysed by these insignificant people.'

abroad. Thrown back upon their resources they would have to depend more upon agriculture for livelihood than at present, and rural and agricultural life decidedly makes more for ethical development than urban and industrial.

Psychical research.

There are various other circumstances which are favourable to a hopeful outlook. Western scientists are no longer exclusively occupied with physical investigations. Psychical inquiries are also claiming their attention now. They are beginning to be seriously occupied with the great problems, *Whence, What,* and *Whither* as the thinkers of the second epoch had been. Investigations into such phenoména as hypnotism, spiritualism, and clairvoyance are no longer ridiculed and considered disreputable to the extent they used to be a generation ago. They are carried on by such eminent scientific men as Sir Oliver Lodge, Wallace and Crookes. "During the latter part of the century [the 19th,]", says Wallace, "the study of these and other obscure psychical phenomena has become more extended, and in every civilized country societies have been formed for investigation, and many remarkable works have been published. One after another, facts, long denied as delusions or exaggerations, have been admitted to be realities."*

* "The Wonderful Century," p. 210. The following names occur among the Presidents of the Psychical Research Society of England :

Increasing subjectivity of religion.

Religion is becoming more and more tolerant, catholic and subjective as is evidenced, among other things, by such movements as the periodical Congresses of Religions inaugurated by the great Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in 1893, the Brotherhood movement,* and such sects as the Unitarian, the Christian Scientist, and the Salvation Army, which have made amazing progress within the last two decades. "Never were all classes," says Sir Oliver Lodge, "so permeated by the spirit, not the phrases but the essential spirit, of brotherhood and co-operation; never was there such universal recognition of the beauty of the spirit of real and vital Christianity, far above the differences and dogmas of the sects." It is true that the traditional beliefs and attachments are becoming weaker, and the theological doctrines of Christianity have not the same hold on people now as they once had. But as Mr. S. Laing observes: "Fewer believe old creeds, and those who do believe more faintly; while fewer denounce them or are insensible to the good they have done in the past and to the truth and beauty of the essential ideas that underlie them."† There are now numerous Chris-

Henry Sidgwick, Balfour Stewart, A. J. Balfour, Sir W. Crookes, F. W. H. Myers, Sir Oliver Lodge, and Sir W. F. Barrett.

* In Britain there are 2500 Brotherhood Societies, and upwards of 600,000 members.

† S. Laing, "Modern Science and Modern Thought," p. 84.

tian Science Churches in America, Europe and Australasia. The number of Christian Scientists in the United States of America rose from 8,724 in 1890 to 80,000 in 1900. The compassionate doctrines of Gautama Buddha find many adherents and admirers in the West who belong to the cream of intellectual society.* Hinduism, specially Vedantism, is securing many followers in Europe and America. The Theosophical movement which is inspired by the spiritual and ethical teachings of Hinduism, and has its head quarters in India, has been spreading far and wide in the West.†

Several of these organisations are no doubt, attended by inconsistencies, oddities, and absurdities, at least what to outsiders appear as such. But there is hardly any movement that is not confined to a small circle of highly cultured people which is not open to this charge. Just as rain-water which is pure when it leaves the clouds but absorbs various impurities as it descends to the earth, so great ideas originating with men of the highest spiritual development become contaminated as they are taken up by the mass of the people.

* The Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland was inaugurated in London in 1908 at a meeting presided over by Prof. Rhys Davids. The following advertisement appears in a recent issue of a London newspaper :

"Buddhism—Wanted a young man (Graduate of a British University), to proceed to Ceylon and be trained there as a Bhikkhu, for subsequent service in this country."

† In 1911, the Theosophical Society had some 500 lodges, with about 16,000 active members in America, England, Scandinavia, France, Germany, Italy &c.

Expanding moral consciousness.

There are many indications of enhanced moral consciousness. Not only have such cruel practices as bear-baiting, badger-baiting, cock-fighting, &c. been practically abolished, but numerous societies have been established for preventing cruelty to animals. The Vegetarian movement is, in part at least, due to the development of humanitarian feelings. The persistent agitation against vivisection is attributable to the same cause. There is now a tendency to show greater consideration than ever before towards the weaker peoples outside the pale of Western civilization. Great Britain, for instance, has now awakened to a sense of the iniquitous character of her opium trade in the Far East which has proved highly detrimental to the health and morals of the Chinese ; and she has lately adopted measures, at some sacrifice to her Indian revenue, to put a stop to that nefarious trade for which she went to war with China in 1839. The few surviving aboriginal tribes of Australasia and America are now treated with marked humanity. Such movements as the Universal Races Congress* testify to the growth of a genuine altruistic spirit. The

* The last Congress was held in London in July, 1911, to discus "in the light of science and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation."

number and income of charitable societies have been increasing rapidly. The income of the charitable societies of London for 1912 was estimated at about eight millions sterling, an increase of nearly three millions within the last two decates. The peace propaganda is spreading gradually though slowly. It has already spared Europe a score of wars. Outspoken arraignments of European militarism by European writers are commoner now than ever before. Max Nordau, for instance, says in a recent article in the "Neue Freie Presse" of Vienna :

"The world is being suffocated under the weight of armaments. This weight, however, is not considered sufficient, and everywhere armaments are being piled up with feverish haste. Everybody has the word "peace" on his lips, yet people are being shot and killed in one quarter and preparations for war of everybody against everybody are being pushed in others.

"Diplomacy, with an air of importance, is busying itself with new treaties, while at the same moment it tears off old compacts with cool cynicism....And while the inscrutable hereditary wisdom of the rulers is throwing into confusion all international relations placing every where might before right, throwing about like so many bales of goods living, thinking, feeling races and nations, Moroccans, Tripolitan Arabs, Persians, and Cretans, dragging down systematically our proud morality to prehistoric barbarism, and steering out the ships of State straight towards the bloody anarchy of war—at the same time in every land the masses are groaning under the rising cost of living, which is caused but to a small extent by drought and bad harvests, and to a far larger extent by protective tariffs raised in favour of selfish agrarian minorities and by the crushing taxation imposed for those very armaments."

Pierre Loti observes in a recent article in the "Figaro" recalling the sudden attack of a panther on a buffalo which he witnessed one night in an African jungle :

"My mind has brought into juxtaposition this incident in the thicket and the Italo-Turkish war. The same brusquerie, the same agility of the assailant, the same inequality of arms, and the same heroic fury of defence. But now it is human beings ! And Europe, as always when people are being massacred, looks on calmly ! What a derision all those big, empty words, "progress," "pacifism," "conferences," and "arbitration."..... .....It is always we who are the biggest killers, it is we who, with the words of fraternity on our lips, are every year inventing some new and more infernal explosive—we who put to fire and the sword for purposes of plunder the old African or Asiatic world, and treat men of the brown or yellow race like cattle. Everywhere we are destroying with our mitrailleuses civilizations different from ours, which we despise without understanding them, simply because they are less practical, less utilitarian, and less heavily armed. And when we have finished killing we bring our unbridled exploitation, our gangs of workmen, our large factories, which are destructive of the small personal industries, and agitation, ugliness, drunkenness, cupidity, and despair.....

"In the eyes of Europe the Moslems of all countries are but so much game, which it is permissible to shoot, and this shooting is generally successful, thanks to the superiority of Europe's killing machines. In Africa the shooting business is well-nigh complete from Zanzibar to Morocco, and in Persia two terrible hunters are finishing their work—one in the south and the other in the north." .....M. Loti continues : "A great din has been raised naturally in Italy about the Beduin atrocities. Granted. I know the inhabi-

tants of the desert. I certainly do not regard them as very tender persons, and I deplore with all my heart the fate of the poor little soldiers who fell into their excited hands. But how I understand the fury of their hatred, their exasperated thirst for vengeance! Ah, those strangers who without the slightest provocation disembarked one sinister day like demons to cut down, to burn down, and to kill everybody!

"And the Italian atrocities? Alas! there was much of that too, and less excusable certainly. In those infamous days of October did they not dare, in contravention of the law of nations and of the strict rules of the Hague Convention, to shoot down in a mass the Arabs merely because they were suspected of having taken arms? And then they killed as if in amusement, and the bodies of several hundred inoffensive cultivators were thrown about the oasis, which became a human slaughter-house. And the savage scenes which attended the execution of the kavass Marco! And the humble sailing boats of the Arabs in the Red Sea, burnt down by the Italian warships on the pretext that they might perhaps be used for the transport of troops!"

Concluding remarks.

The movements which we have just cursorily indicated evidence increasing intensity of the forces which operate for ethical and spiritual development. But they do not appear to be strong enough yet to counterbalance the forces which lead to material development. There is as yet no indication of the establishment of equilibrium between these two sets of forces. How inexorable is the law of the three stages which governs the evolution of civilization is well exemplified in the case of Western civilization. The accumulated experience and cultural acquisitions of past civilizations have not

enabled it to skip over or even to appreciably abridge a single stage. The wise and the good, who must always be in the minority in every society, however civilized, have not yet acquired the dominant influence which they should have in a civilization which has advanced in the third stage. There has been considerable expansion of the spirit of freedom, but its aim hitherto has chiefly been to further political and economic activities, and to secure equality of opportunity in the struggle for animal existence. There has been great diffusion of knowledge pertaining to the macrocosm, but comparatively little of knowledge relating to the microcosm. There is much science but not much philosophy, much learning but not much wisdom. There is increased individuation. That man is an end in himself is fully recognised. But that end with the vast majority is the ignoble one of material satisfaction. The military and predatory spirit is still rampant; material interests still outweigh the spiritual; the outer life is still thought of more than the inner; and egoism still prevails over altruism. The Occidental has conquered the forces of Nature, only to be a slave of the forces which that conquest has created. His marvellous and manifold inventions, instead of lightening the struggle for existence, have tended rather to make it more acute, more prolonged, more widespread and more debasing; instead of facilitating the liberation of the soul have tended rather to tighten its fetters; instead

of diminishing the sum of human misery have tended rather to increase it.

Whether and when Western civilization will attain the maturity and harmonious development of the third stage, it is difficult to predict. If the duration of its second stage be as long as that of the corresponding stage in the last epoch, then it cannot be expected to be established in the next stage much before the close of the current century. When that consummation takes place, the evil tendencies of Western industrialism would be repressed, but the foundation of international amity it has laid by bringing together all the races of the world would be strengthened, and there would arise, broad-based upon it, a fabric of civilization grander and more majestic than any the world has witnessed as yet.

APPENDIX.

SYNOPTICAL TABLE OF EPOCHS AND STAGES.

[*Civilizations not dealt with in this book are given in italics.*]

I. The First Epoch [Circ. B.C. 5000—Circ. B.C. 2000.]

[*Began with the conquest of the aboriginal races of Egypt, Babylonia and China by intrusive immigrants.*]

Civilization ...	The first stage [Circ. B.C. 5000—Circ. B.C. 3450.]	The second and third stages [Circ. B.C. 3450—Circ. B.C. 2000].	
Egyptian ...	Great development of sculpture, architecture, &c.	Decline of the Fine Arts. Development of literature and science. Moral and spiritual progress.	
Babylonian...	Development of the Fine Arts.	Intellectual and ethical development.	
Chinese.			

II. The Second Epoch [Circ. B.C. 2000—Circ. A.D 700].

[*Began with the conquest of the indigenous races of India, Greece, Italy &c., by the Aryans, the invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos, the dismemberment of the Babylonian empire, and political revolution in China.*]

Civilization ...	The first stage [Circ. B.C. 2000—Circ. B.C. 1000, Hindu Civilization; Circ. B. C. 1500—Circ. B. C. 700, Greek Civilization].	The second stage [Circ. B.C. 1000—Circ. B.C. 500, Hindu Civilization; Circ. B. C. 700—Circ. B. C. 400, Greek Civilization]	The third stage [Circ. B.C. 500—Circ. A.D. 700, Hindu Civilization; Circ. B.C. 400—Circ. A.D. 400, Greek Civilization.
Indo-Aryan... (Hindu).	Development of poetry. The hymns of the Rig-veda.	Development of philosophy, the science of language &c. — The Sámkhya, the Nyáya and other systems of philosophy; grammar of Pánini &c.	Ethical and spiritual development.–Buddhism, and Hinduism, of such works as the Bhagavatgítá &c.
Greek ...	Development of poetry (Homer and Hesiod), and of art.	Development of philosophy and natural science—the Ionian, the Eleatic and other schools of philosophy; astronomy of Meton &c.	Ethical and spiritual development. Socratic, Stoic, Neo-Platonic and other schools of philosophy. Spread of Christianity.
Chinese *Egyptian* *Assyrian* *Phœnician* *Hebrew* *Persian*			

III. The Third Epoch [Circ. A.D. 700——].

[*Began with the "Barbarian" invasion of the Roman empire, the incursion of the Saracens into northern Africa, India, Persia &c., the conquest of the aborigines of Mexico by the Toltecs, and the establishment of the supremacy of the Incas in Peru.*]

Civilization...	The first stage [Circ. A.D. 700—Circ. A.D. 1600].	The second stage [Circ. A.D. 1600——].	
Western ... Civilization.	Development of art and poetry—Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian &c.; Dante, Petrarch, Shakespeare &c.	Intellectual development —great progress of the natural sciences,—physics, chemistry, biology, geology &c.	
Chinese *Hindu* *Saracen* *Japanese* *Mexican* *Peruvian*			

INDEX.

A

Aborigines, influence of, in India, 40-41 ; in China and Egypt, 41 ; treatment of by Europeans, 267, 289-294 ; by Indo-Aryans, 160 *et seq.*

Abul Fazl, 77, 78.

Aeschylus, 224 ; 230,

Africa, 11, 39, 61, 289-294.

Akbar, 77-79.

Akkad, 15, 31, 105, 108.

Alexander, 46, 246.

Alexandria, 96, 246-254.

America, 39, 267, 289-294.

Anaxagoras, 43, 223, 226.

Anaximenes, 223, 225.

Andamanese, 42.

Arab, see Saracen.

Archimedes, 247.

Aristotle, 30, 51, 56, 223, 224, 239, 243.

Art, 6, 7 ; Assyrian, 45 ; Egyptian, 93-98 ; Greek, 229 ; European, 262-265 ; Hindu, 202-203 ; Saracen, 260 ; stage of fine, 6, 20, 32.

Asia Minor, 2, 3, 43, 58 ; Greek Civilization in, 246.

Asoka, 41, 44, 46, 170, 179-181.

Assyria, 9, 11, 19, 20, 43, 53, 65.

Astronomy, 29, 31 ; Arab, 259 ; Chinese, 31 ; Greek, 228 ; Babylonian (Chaldean), 31 ; Hindu, 31, 193, 194,; European, 277.

Augustus, 58, 59.

Aurangzeb, 78, 79.

Australasia, 39 ; treatment of the aborigines of, 289-294.

B.

Babylon, 43, 106, 107.
Babylonia, 9, 15, 37, 38, 65, 105-111.
Bacon, 279.
Bactria, 9.
Badaráyana, author of the Vedánta philosophy, 154.
Bhagavatgítá, ethical ideal of the 180, 186.
Biology in Europe, 280.
Bráhmanas, the, 124, 135.
Bráhmans (caste of), 30, 81, 128, 129, 163, 164.
Brotherhood, Society of, 321.
Bruno, 272.
Buddha, Gautama, 18, 21, 70, 71, 85, 166 *et seq.*
Buddhism, 166-170, 177-179; in modern Europe, 322.

C.

Cæsar, 58, 59, 62.
Calvin, 274.
Capital and Labour, conflict between, 313, 318, 319.
Capitalism and unequal distribution of wealth, 301-303.
Caste-system, in India, 66, 75, 127-128, 160-165.
Central Asia, 30.
Cervantes, 263.
Chaitanya, 51.
Chaldea, 9, 31, 32, 39.
Chandragupta, 41, 46.
Chemistry, modern, 280.
China, 9, 13, 37, 38, 41, 67, 69, 71, 72, 83, 89; British opium trade with, 323; recent industrial progress of, 317, 318.
Christianity, 13, 250-253, 268, 269, 283.
Christians, persecution of, 252, 253.
Christian morality in modern Europe, J.S. Mill on, 287-289.
Christian Scientists, 321.
Civilization, conditions of its survival, 81-84 distribution of 18-20; epochs of 9-11; extinction of 54-55, 64; factors of 25-51; short-lived and longlived, 53, 54; spread of 23, 24; stages of, 1-24, 17, 18.
Confucius, 18, 68, 70, 71, 73, 83, 85.
Congress, of races, 323; of religions, 321.
Cynic school of philosophy 237, 240
Cyrenaic school of philosophy, 237.

D.

Dara, 78, 79.
Darius, 18.
Dása (or Dasyus), 38, 114, 115.
Dayánanda Sarasvati, 83.
Democracy, Athenian, 212, 223; influence of, 50-51, 57; modern, 313-316.
Democritus, 228.
Diogenes, 223, 285.
Dorians, Civilization of the, 207-219.
Dravidians, 40.

E.

East, influence on the West of the, 46-48.
Eastern Asia, 43 ; influence of India on, 44.
Egypt, 9, 10, 15, 32, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 49, 58, 65, 66, 89-105, 246, 247.
Electrical science, 280.
Environment, 25, 33, 36-38, 48-51.
Epictetus, 248.
Epochs of Civilization, 9-11, 14, 17, 18.
Eratosthenes, 247.
Etruscans, 10, 39.
Europe, alphabet of, 43 ; art of, 262, 265 ; industrial revolution of, 282 ; intellectual development of, 274-281 ; materialism of, 286, 300 ; militarism of, 265-267, 289, 294, 295 ; morality of, 283 *et seq.* ; religion of, 268, 269, 321.
Europeans, treatment of aborigines by, 267 ; work of, in Africa, the Oceania, and the East, 296-300.

F.

Factors of civilization, external, 36-51 ; internal, 25-35.
Fa Hian, 44, 188.
Far East, influence of, on America, 44-45.
Feudalism, 265, 266.

G.

Galileo, 271, 279.
Ganges, the, 26, 36.
Gautama, author of Nyáya philosophy, 147.
Geology, 287.
George, Henry, on Western democracy, 315, 316.
Government, in ancient India, 126 ; in ancient Greece, 213 ; its influence on progress, 48-50.
Greece, 9, 10, 23, 38, 39, 43, 53, 55-57, 65-67, 73, 98 ; art of, 219, 229 ; causes of the downfall of the civilization of, 230, 242-245 ; Indian influence on civilization of, 249 ; industrial condition of, 213 ; influence of, on Indian civilization, 46, 47 ; literature of, 230 ; moral condition of, 215, 216, 241, 243 ; philosophy of, 225-228 ; political condition of, 213, 222, 232 ; religion of, 214 ; social condition of, 213.

H.

Heraclitus, 223, 225.
Herodotus, 91, 98, 102, 103, 239.
Hesiod, 212, 216.
Hinduism, 41, 73, 74, 159 ; relation to Buddhism, 168, 169 ; Paurá-nik. 170-179.

Hindus, the, 23, 65; art of the, 202-204, 220; caste-system of the, 160-165; causes of the loss of political independence of the, 74-76; drama of the, 220; industrial condition of the, 157, 158, 204-206; influence of, on the Mahomedans, 76-80; intellectual progress of the, 135 *et seq.*; Laws of the, 199-201; literature of the, 192; morality of the, 73, 74, 179-191, 207-211; philosophy of the, 136 *et seq.*, 221.
Homer, 212, 215, 216, 232.
Houen Tsang, 44, 189.
Huxley, T.H. on European poverty, 302-303.
Hypatia, 255.

I.

Idolatry, origin of, in India, 171 *et seq.*
Incas, 11, 26.
India (see also Hindus), 9, 11, 16, 23, 28, 37, 38, 53, 55, 67, 75; aboriginal influence in 40-41; influence of, on the West, 47-48.
Indo-Aryans, (see also Hindus), 20, 21, 31, 40, 41, 113-115, 118.
Industrial condition, of Europe 282; of China, 317-318; of Greece, 213; of India, 157, 158, 204-206; of Japan, 317.
Industrialism, Western, evils of, 306-310; possible decay of, in the future, 317, 319.
Inquisition, the, 84, 270-275.
Intellectual development, and ethical progress in Europe, 283; of Europe, 274-287; of Greece, 225 *et seq.*; of the Hindus, 124-125, 135 *et seq.*; its importance for survival of civilization, 81-85.
Ionic school of philosophy, 18.
Inventions, modern, 282; their ethical tendencies, 307-310.

J

Japan, alphabet of, 44; recent industrial progress of, 317.
Jehangir, 77, 78.
Judaism, 18.

K

Kabir, 51.
Kanáda, author of Vaisesika philosophy, 151.
Kanchi (Conjeveram), 74.
Kanishka, 74.
Kapila, author of Sámkhya philosophy, 141.
Kassites, 10.
Khamurabi, 10, 109, 110.
Khufu, 94.
Kshatriya (caste of), 127, 162.
Kuh (Chinese emperor), 69.
Kushan, 74.

L.

Labour and capital in the West, conflict between, 313, 318, 319.
Laoutsze, 16, 18, 68, 70, 71.
Libyans, the, 40, 90.
Luther, 274.
Luxury, excessive growth of, in the West, 308-311.

M.

Mahábhárata, the, 115, 116, 127.
Mahomedans, civilization of the, 257, 262 ; Hindu influence on the, 76, 77.
Man Sing, 78, 79, 98.
Marcus Aurelius, 252.
Materialism, in Europe, 286, 300.
Mathematics, Arab, 259 ; Hindu, 193, 194 ; European, 277.
Max Müller, on Indian philosophy, 137, 138.
Medicine, Hindu, 195-199
Megasthenes, 45, testimony of, to Hindu morality, 187.
Memphitic empire, 96.
Menandros, 47, 74.
Mencius, 68, 71, 83.
Mesopotamia, 32, 43.
Metempsychosis, 139.
Meton, 228.
Mexico, 11, 53.
Militarism, 7, 114 ; European, 265-267, 289, 294, 295, 306-308.
Mitanis, 10.
Mongolians, 13, 19, 26, 30, 45, 73.
Morality, in Greece, 241, 243 ; in India, 158, 159, 179-191 ; in the Roman empire, 251-254; in modern Europe, 283 *et seq.*

N.

Naram Sin, 108, 109.
Natural Science, causes of modern progress in, 275 ; among the Hindus, 278 ; industrial application of, 282, 309, 310
Negroes, the, 40, 41, 90, 105.
Neolithic man, 3, 14.
Nile, the, 26, 36, 49, 90-92, 95, 102.
Nineveh, 65.
Nubia, 40, 90, 93, 101.
Nyáya philosophy, 139, 147-151.

O.

Osiris, 99, 103, 106.

P.

Palæolithic man, 2, 3, 14, 17, 20, 29.
Palestine, 18, 65.
Pánini, 136.
Pantheism (see Vedantism)
Parmenides, 227.
Patanjali, author of Yoga philosophy, 146.
Peace movement in Europe, 324.
Pelasgians, 10, 39.
Pericles, 223, 229, 230.
Persia, 9, 11, 23, 53.
Peru, 11, 53.
Pharaos, 49, 91, 93, 99, 101, 104.

Phœnicia, 9, 37, 38, 43, 53.
Phidias, 229.
Philosophy, Greek, 225, 228-241; European, 276; Hindu, 136 *et seq.*, 221.
Physics, modern, 279.
Plato, 30, 56, 237-239.
Pliny, 61, 63.
Plotinus, 47, 248.
Plutarch, 106.
Polybius, 248.
Polygnotus, 229.
Poverty in the West, 302-305.
Psychical research in Europe, 320.
Purva Mimámsa philosophy, 154.
Pyramids, 40, 90, 96, 97, 98, 102.
Pythagoras, 21, 43, 51, 223, 226.

R.

Races, Universal Congress of, 322.
Rámánanda, 81.
Rámánuja, 81.
Rámáyana, the, 83, 115.
Rámmohan Ráya, 83.
Ráphael, 264.
Reformation, 274.
Religion, 29, 30; of Greece, 214; of the Hindus, (see Hindus); of Europe (see also Christianity) 268, 269, 321; of Savages, 3; of the three stages of civilization, 8.
Rigveda, 34, 39, 115, 116, 121-124, 127.
Rome, 9, 10, 23, 39, 53, 55, 58-60, 65, 247-248, 252.
Roman empire, Greek civilization in, 247, 248; morality in, 251-253.

S.

Saïs, 41.
Saivism, 173, 176.
Samkaráchárya, 83, 156.
Samskrit (see also Hindus and India), 44, 114, 46, 81.
Saracens (see also Mahomedans), 17, 48, 84.
Semites, and their culture, 19, 26, 30, 32, 39.
Senusert I, 98.
Shah Jehan, 77, 78.
Shakespeare, 264.
Shun (Chinese emperor), 67, 83.
Slave trade, 268.
Sneferu, 93, 94.
Sociological phenomena, difficulty of interpreting, 11-14.
Socrates, 18, 21, 51, 55, 84, 223, 224, 233.
Solon, 57.
Sophists, 232.
Sophocles, 224, 230.
Spain, 38, 84, 267.
Sparta, 217, 218.
Stages of civilization, 1-24, 17, 18.
Steam engine, 217, 218.
Stoic philosophy, 240, 252.
Sudras, (caste of), 30, 40, 163-165.
Sumer, 38, 39, 108.
Survival of civilization, 53-87;

favoured by equilibrium between material and ethical development, 55-56 ; favoured by isolation, 65 ; importance of intellectual culture in, 84, 85.

T.

Taouism, 16.
Tasmanians, 42.
Tasso, 263.
Tertullian, 13.
Thales of Miletus, 18, 42, 225.
Thebes, and the Theban empire, 41, 91, 95.
Theosophical movement, 322.
Thucydides, 224.
Todar Mall, 78, 79.
Tolstoy, 284.
Toltecs ,11, 26, 45.
Torture, abolition of, in Europe, 284.
Trajan, 98.
Tsang, 71.
Tukaram, 81,
Tulsi Das, 81.

U.

Upanishads, 21, 79, 132-134.
Usertsen III, 101.

V.

Vaishnavism, 176, 177.
Vaisyas, caste of, 129, 162.
Vandals, the, 65.
Vasistha, 117.
Vedantism, 16, 47, 137, 139, 154-156.
Vedas, 16, deities of the, 115, 119, 171.
Veddas, the, 42.
Vedic literature, 118.
Visigoths, the, 65.

W.

Wallace, A.R., on poverty in England, 303, 304.
Watt, steam engine of, 279.
Wealth, unequal distribution of, in Greece, 243, 244 ; in the West, 302-304 ; excessive desire for accumulation of, 308, 312.
Women, their position in Babylonia, 110-111 ; in Egypt, 102 ; in ancient Greece, 213 ; in ancient India, 126, 127.

X.

Xenophanes, 223, 227.
Xenophon, 224.

Y.

Yaou (Chinese emperor), 11, 15, 67, 83.
Yncas (see Incas),
Yoga philosophy, 146, 147.
Yudisthira, 120.

Z.

Zeno, 227, 240.
Zodiac, the, 31, 111
Zoroastrianism, 18.

By the same author.

A

HISTORY

OF

HINDU CIVILIZATION

DURING BRITISH RULE

(3 Volumes, Rs. 7/8.)

A very interesting and instructive work written with considerable knowledge, and in a liberal and impartial spirit. The author, as a Hindu, has practical acquaintance with Indian manners and customs such as could hardly be acquired by a foreigner, and in collecting his information he has drawn equally from native and foreign sources.....He is careful about his facts, sober and sensible in his judgments, and simple, clear, and direct in his modes of expression.—THE TIMES, *October 4th, 1894.*

These two volumes contain useful and accurate information packed into a moderate compass—THE SATURDAY REVIEW, *November 3rd, 1894.*

A trustworthy and convenient exposition for English readers who may desire to trace the influences of Western contact with Hindu institutions.—THE DAILY CHRONICLE, *May 11th, 1895.*

The author has laboured diligently to present an adequate picture of the varied conditions of his extensive subject. He has

the great advantage of treating the matters with inside knowledge, and his scientific training has materially helped to give value to his exposition. He writes with simplicity and clearness. His work cannot fail to be extremely serviceable to all who wish to understand the conditions of Indian life, and specially to English students of the great problems of modern Indian development.—INDIA, *April 1895*.

This work raises many questions of intense interest for us, and as the expression of the opinions and views of a highly educated Hindu is of special importance we look forward with pleasure to the remaining promised volumes.—THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, *May, 1895*.

It would be almost impossible to find any author—European or Native—better qualified to undertake the work of describing "HINDU CIVILIZATION UNDER BRITISH RULE" than Mr. Pramatha Nath BOSE.—THE BOMBAY GAZETTE, *September 1st, 1894*.

Mr. Bose has indeed performed the task he sets before him as well as probably it is possible for any one to do in the present state of our knowledge and in the present condition of the country. The work he has given us is a credit to himself and will no doubt be highly esteemed by the literary world.—THE INDIAN SPECTATOR, *October 14th 1894*.

Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose has written a book which is in many ways remarkable. In the form of "A History of Hindu Civilization under British Rule" he has given proofs that there are exceptions to the rule that Hindus are incapable of turning out original literary work. * * * Without expressing entire concurrence with all the opinions to which he gives expression, we are free to say that his book reflects laborious research and most painstaking efforts to drag truth up from the bottom of a very deep and dark well.—THE MADRAS TIMES, *October 31st, 1894*.

The book has been written in quite a new and original plan. It professes, as its name implies, to give an account of the changes which our institutions are at present undergoing ; but it really gives us much more than that. We have in it accounts, historically drawn up of the several institutions, religious as well as social, from an earlier period, which cannot fail to be interesting. The subjects so treated are so many as almost to give the book an appearance of a cyclopædia.—THE BENGALEE, *September 22nd, 1894.*

Judging by the two volumes placed before the public credit will be freely given to the author for honest and conscientious work, prolonged and patient labour in the gathering of materials, and in every possible instance to bring the information down to date. * * * The work is deserving of high praise and is an important contribution to contemporary Indian history of the right sort.—THE TRIBUNE, *October 3rd, 1894.*

From what we have stated above, our readers will see that Mr. Bose is eminently fitted for the task he has undertaken. He is not a theorist and he is not an enthusiast ; he advocates reform, but can appreciate what was good in the past ; and above all, he can let facts speak for themselves. A laborious enquirer he is at the same time a pleasant narrator, and his style is simple and pleasant, chaste and perspicuous.—CALCUTTA REVIEW, *January, 1895.*

ESSAYS AND LECTURES.

Price Rs. 2/.

The book is of varied interest and students of history, science, archæology, ethnology and industry will find it very useful while

the exposition of the subjects is so clear and lucid that it will amply repay the general reader the trouble undertaken and the time spent in its perusal.—THE INDIAN WORLD, *January, 1907.*

The papers reprinted cover a wide range and represent the thoughts and convictions of a quarter of a century. Mr. Bose has long been known as one of the most thoughtful Indians of our generation. His vast scientific knowledge is based on a wide out-look of human life, and the papers reprinted in the volume under notice....display in a remarkable degree wide and accurate knowledge of Indian problems—social and industrial. Mr. Bose's Essays and Lectures—which were buried in the files of journals and periodicals—fully deserved to be resuscitated and we are glad that they have been made available to the public. We recommend to educated Indians and Anglo-Indians a careful perusal of Mr. Bose's book, from a study of which one will certainly rise with a better and more accurate knowledge of some of the present-day problems of India.—THE HINDUSTHAN REVIEW, *December, 1906.*

W. NEWMAN & CO.,
4, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.

ERRATUM,

		Read	For
Page 51	Foot-note l. 4	*Hibbert*	*Hibleert*

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 20 February, 2020